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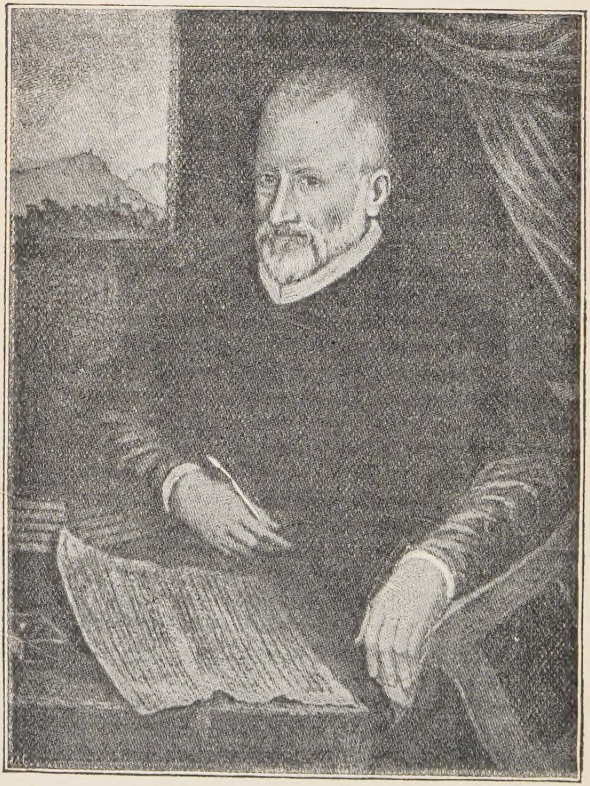

# Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina.*

## (1526-1594.)

PALESTRINA, which by the name of Praeneste is familiar to readers of Horace and Virgil, is a town pleasantly situated at the foot of the Sabine mountains, distant some twenty three miles from Rome. It has a most interesting history, being famed both in heathen and Christian times. More ancient than Rome, it was the chief arsenal in the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, the latter of whom destroyed it after a prolonged siege (B.C. 81), but rebuilt it on a scale of great magnificence, and erected in it a sumptuous Temple of Fortune, the ruins of which are yet to be seen. It then became a favourite summer resort for the more wealthy citizens of Rome, who found in its meadows a cool retreat from the heat of the city.† The ancient town was situated on a more lofty eminence among the surrounding hills than

* The chief materials for this sketch have been: 'Memorie storico-critiche della vita e delle opere di Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, etc.,' compilate da Guiseppe Baini. 2 vols. Roma. 1828. Also the 'Caecilien Kalender' and 'Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch,' (especially those for 1879, 1882, 1886, 1892, and 1894) edited by Dr. F. X. Haberl (Pustet, Ratisbon), 'Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina und die Gesammtausgabe seiner Werke,' by Paul Waldersee (Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig), and a most able article by M. Camille Bellaigue in the 'Revue des deux Mondes,' October, 1894. Other works consulted are mentioned in footnotes. The forthcoming Life of Palestrina by Dr. Haberl promises to be the standard work on the subject.

† Horace speaks of it as "frigidum" (Carm. iii, 4, 22), and says it was there he read the Iliad (Ep. ii. i). Juvenal, too, calls it "icy" (gelida), Sat. iii. 190.

the present one, and the view from its citadel has well been termed "the most historical panorama imaginable."* In the middle ages, Palestrina† was the object of much conflict between the Colonna family and the Popes—conflicts which resulted in the destruction of the city in 1436. No place can show specimens of so many different styles of architecture, and the excavations there have been both extensive and fruitful.

The town is now but little visited, and its chief resource of renown is that it is the birthplace of Giovanni Pierluigi, who first saw the light in 1526.‡ His parents, Sante Pierluigi (died 1559), and Maria Ghismondi, were well-to-do people, possessing a house and small farm at Palestrina and a few houses in Rome. The house in which Giovanni was born is still to be seen and over its doorway there is an inscription to that effect.§ But little is known of his early days. The story of his singing in the streets of Rome for alms is most certainly a myth. We know, however, that from his early years Gianetto, for by this name he was commonly called, evinced great aptitude and love for music, and it is probable that, on the great feasts of the Church, he would journey to Rome to witness the functions and hear the music in the great Basilicas.

About the year 1540, he went to live in Rome, and there received his first musical education from Gaudio

* *Days near Rome*, by Augustus Hare.

† The modern name is found in documents as early as A.D. 873.

‡ There has been much discussion as to the date of Palestrina's birth—1514, 1526, 1524, 1528 having all in turn been given. In 1885, however, the archives of the city and cathedral chapter of Palestrina were opened to Dr. Haberl, who gives it as the result of his investigations, that 1526 is the correct date. [See Canon Proske's Preface to *Musica Divina*, vol. i., Pustet, Ratisbon.] The public registers of Palestrina were destroyed by Alva in 1557, and hence the confusion arose.

§ It runs as follows: "Nel fabricato interno di questa casa nacque ed abitò Giovanni Pierluigi, Principe della Musica." (Quoted by Cascioli, *Life and Works of Palestrina;* Rome, 1894.)

Mell, a Netherlander. * The Roman school of music, as Naumann shows, † had strictly speaking never ceased to exist since its permanent establishment by St. Gregory the Great. Its position as a school was always admitted, and its influence at all times had been great, since the Popes had for years invited the best musicians from all parts to Rome. At the time of which we write, however, the Netherlanders held the lead in music. Their wonderful industry had developed this art with extraordinary rapidity, and, though much of their writing is of the nature of "musical conundrums," "dry as dust," "mere barren cleverness," and devoid of all melody, with no power to move the heart, still there is much of a most devotional and moving character. The great masters of this school, such as Dufay, Josquin des Près, and Arcadelt, had all held important musical positions in Rome, and it is therefore no matter for surprise that the earlier works of Palestrina should have strong indications of their influence. ‡

The progress of Giovanni was most rapid, and soon attracted attention. Hence in 1544, after some four years in Rome, he was appointed organist of the Cathedral in his native town. The document relating to his appointment is still extant, and bears date October, 1544. § Palestrina, though but eighteen years of age, was to enjoy the income of a canon of the Cathedral, and in return was to play the

* Baini has confused Gaudio Mell with Claude Goudimel, who became a Calvinist, and is supposed to have been a victim of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew in 1572. Antimo Liberati, who wrote in 1684, is our authority for the true name. (See Preface to *Musica Divina*, vol. i.)

† *History of Music*, vol. ii.

‡ Baini is harsh, however, when he glories in Palestrina's freeing himself in his later works from what he terms "Fiammingo squalore."

§ It is given *in extenso* by Haberl, *Nach Palestrina wegen Palestrina* (Cæcilien Kalender, 1879, page 11). It is well to remark that Schelle deduces from this appointment the fact that Palestrina must have been born considerably before 1526, as it was not customary to appoint so young a man to such a post. He favours the date 1514.

organ on feast days, to take part daily in the singing of Mass, Vespers, and Compline, and to give the canons and choir-boys lessons in singing.

In June 1547, Palestrina married the daughter of a well-to-do citizen of his native town, by name Lucretia de Goris. Though his appointment above referred to was for life, Palestrina held it only for seven years, being promoted by Pope Julius III.—in 1551, to the post of musical instructor in the *Capella Giulia* of the Vatican, with the title of *Magister Capellæ*, receiving a salary of six scudi a month, and a house. This change will not surprise us when we remember that, Julius III.—Giovanni del Monte,—had been Cardinal-Bishop of Palestrina till his election to the Papal throne in 1550. He had doubtless learnt the merits of Giovanni during his seven years' sojourn in Palestrina, and naturally was anxious to retain him, as well as to do him a kindness, by bringing him to Rome. In 1551, then, Giovanni came to Rome, never more to leave it. It was not long before he came under the influence of St. Philip Neri, the Apostle of Rome, who won his heart wholly to God, and induced him to abandon all secular writing and devote his great talents to the service of the Church. Of their friendship and intimacy we shall have more to say in the sequel.

In 1554, Palestrina published his "Opus 1.," a volume of Masses, dedicated to Julius III., who in gratitude offered him a place among the twenty-four collegiate singers of his private chapel, assigning the post thus vacated at the *Capella Giulia* to Giovanni Animuccia.* Being a married man, Palestrina had strictly no right to a place in this choir, and some opposition to his appointment was raised by the other singers. But the Pope carried his point, and on January 13th, 1555, Palestrina was enrolled as a member of the Papal Choir.

* Giovanni Animuccia, an intimate friend of St. Philip Neri, was a fellow-pupil of Palestrina. He was a musician of no ordinary merit, and a man of most holy life. He wrote much for the Oratory in Rome, and died in 1571, in St. Philip's arms. Not even Palestrina, it is said, could "oust him from his nest."

Julius III. died in March of the same year, and Marcellus II., who succeeded, reigning for only twenty-three days, Paul IV. ascended the Chair of St. Peter. He was a stern reformer, as indeed the state of the Church and of the world generally necessitated; and one of his first acts was to free his choir, which according to rule should have been composed of priests and clerics, of all married singers. Palestrina and two other singers* thus lost their posts, and, though some small compensation was made to them, he felt the blow severely. His means were small and he had a wife and four children to support. Doubtless he wished he had never left the cathedral of his native town. Indeed the strain of his misfortunes told so severely, upon him as to make him seriously ill. On his recovery, he was made, in October of the same year, *Maestro della Capella* at the Church of St. John Lateran, with, however, a most meagre salary. This post he held for six years—years of hard, up-hill work—during which he wrote his Lamentations and *Improperia*. The *Improperia* are among the most beautiful of his compositions. Mendelssohn, after hearing them but once, speaks thus of them in his Letters:† "Methinks they are one of Palestrina's most beautiful works. One chord melts so softly into the other . . . . I can well understand that they should have made a deep impression upon Goethe, for really they are almost the most perfect thing in music." And Sir George Grove says:‡ "In depth of feeling, true pathos, and perfect adaptation of the music to the sense of the words, these compositions of Palestrina have never been surpassed." They were first performed at St. John Lateran's, on Good Friday, 1560. The Lamentations, too, soon attracted attention, and Paul IV. added them to the music of the Apostolic Chapel.§

* Domenico Ferrabosco and Leonardo Bari.

† Quoted by Waldersee, *op. cit.* p. 97.

‡ Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, article "Improperia."

§ By the Apostolic Chapel (*Capella Apostolica*) was originally

In 1561, Palestrina was appointed to a like post at the Church of St. Mary Major's, with a salary of sixteen scudi a month. The ten years he spent here are at once the most eventful and fruitful of his life, and we must devote considerable space to a study of them.—The Council of Trent sat from 1545 to 1563, and, among other things, discussed the subject of Church music. Grave indeed were the disorders and abuses that existed here, and there was a general desire for reform. The faults to be remedied were practically reducible to two, *viz.*:—1st. A degree of elaboration and intricacy in the music so excessive, that the sacred words could no longer be distinguished; and, 2nd, the introduction of melodies in the Church that had been written and used for secular purposes. Masses indeed were based on these profane melodies, and people hearing them were not only precluded from devotion, but even provoked to laughter. Such was the fashion of the times, and no composer dared go in the face of it, for to do so was to incur the reproach of eccentricity and to lose all chance of a hearing. It is true that musical critics and historians have differed considerably in their estimate of the real state of things. Baini in his famous work, which cost him thirty years of arduous study, paints it in the blackest colours, while Ambros seems to assert that there has been much exaggeration in the popularly-received account, and that there were no real abuses or scandals to be remedied. Still the investigation of contemporary music and contemporary records shows conclusively the existence of certain grave abuses, and the wisdom of the Church in causing the question to be dealt with. It is certainly untrue and absurd to state, as has so often been done, that the Church music of those days sinned in being flowery, adorned with endless trills and runs and shakes. These are elements that were not known to music till quite the

meant a body of chaplains, whose duty it was to sing the daily office and Mass in the Pope's chapel. They were also styled the Capella Pontificia, and, in our day, are known as the Sistine Choir. The obligation of Choir has, however, long been removed.

end of the 16th century. The faults were, as has already been stated, that owing to the elaborate technicality and intricacy of the music, the words could no longer be clearly distinguished, and that the *canti fermi* or themes on which Masses were built, were no longer taken, as had been the custom, from some well-known hymn or antiphon, but from the popular love-songs then in vogue, and were even named after them.* As Mr. Rockstro well says:† "A canon that could be sung upside down, as well as backwards and forwards, was more highly esteemed than one that could be sung backwards and forwards only." Lastly, the sacred words were mixed in most strange and terrible ways. Thus one voice would sing *Sanctus*, another *Alleluia*, and yet another *Ave Maria*, simultaneously; and as though this were not sufficient, while the more religious part of the choir were adhering to the words of the Liturgy, the profane portion, nay, and some of the congregation, would introduce the amorous words of the love-song, on which the music had been based. The effect was indescribable. Surely reform was needed!

But was the reform to be total or partial, and how was it to be brought about? The sterner reformers, among whom must be reckoned St. Charles Borromeo, demanded that in future unaccompanied Plain Chant alone should be allowed. This proposal, however, met with deserved opposition, the Pope himself, Pius IV., a lover of music, being averse to it. Now, in August 1564 the Pope created, by a *motu proprio*, a Congregation of Cardinals, known as the Congregation of the Council, to carry out the mind of the Council of Trent in various ecclesiastical bodies in Rome. This Congregation in turn appointed a Committee, consisting of Cardinals Borromeo and Vitellozo, to inquire into and reform the discipline of the Papal Choir, and

* Thus we find Masses bearing such titles as: "L'homme armé," "Mon coeur se recommande à vous," "Baisez-moi," "Des rouges nez," and many others that might be named.

† *Encyclopædia Britannica*, article "Palestrina."

thus it was that there indirectly came before them the whole question of church-music. As their guide, they had the decree of the Council of Trent, passed in its 22nd Session—a decree, which without going into details, contented itself with merely urging the Bishops to exclude all music from their churches, that was in any way lascivious or impure.* What was the real outcome we shall state later: meanwhile it will be well, for the sake of clearness, to give briefly Baini's legendary account, which has so long been in possession.

To the two Cardinals, then, says Baini, there were added a certain number of singers from the Papal Chapel, who, after much discussion, determined to commission Palestrina to write a model Mass, as a guide for all others. Palestrina felt the responsibility of his position, and was unwilling to entrust so momentous an issue to a single composition. He, therefore, determined to write three Masses, which were performed for the first time on April 28th, 1565, at the palace of Cardinal Vitellozo, in the presence of all the commissioners. Though all three were approved of, the third, commonly known as the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* received the palm, and was declared to be the model for all future Church-compositions: and thus the cause of figured music was saved.

There is a certain romance attaching to this story, and we would fain hold it to be true. But Dr. Haberl, now for upwards of thirty years an indefatigable student of Palestrina's life and times, has pointed out the mistakes in Baini's account, and has furnished us with the actual facts.†

* The decree bears date Sept. 17th, 1562, and forms part of a long decree *de observandis et evitandis in celebratione Missæ*. It runs as follows: "Ab ecclesiis vero musicas eas, ubi sive organo, sive cantu lascivium aut impurum aliquid miscetur, item sæculares omnes actiones, vana atque adeo profana colloquia, deambulationes, strepitus, clamores arceant: ut domus Dei vere domus orationis esse videatur ac dici possit." xii.

† *Kirchen-Musikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1892. "Die Cardinals Kommission von 1564 und Palestrina's Missa Papæ Marcelli."

He has shown that, as has already been stated, it was only *indirectly* that the question of Church-music came before Cardinals Borromeo and Vitellozo, owing to the fact that the *Camera Apostolica*, or Papal Treasury, on which the Papal singers depended for their income, was under their exclusive control. There is no trace of any order being given to Palestrina to write a model Mass. On the 28th of April, 1565,* the singers assembled at the palace of Cardinal Vitellozo, and gave a rendering of some Masses, "to see if the words were rendered in accordance with the wishes of the *Reverendissimi*." † On this occasion, it is probable, that Palestrina was present, and that some of his works were rendered. Possibly, too, the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* ‡ was among those selected for performance. But the works of other masters, Animuccia for example, also received a hearing, and the result of the meeting was merely to emphasize the mind of the Church on the subject, and to urge composers to write strictly and carefully. Let it not, however, be supposed from this that Palestrina had little or no share in reforming the music of the Church, or that we wish in any way to depreciate the immense value of the work which he accomplished. For all seasons of the year, he has provided an abundance of glorious compositions, in

* "Die Sabbati, 28 April, 1565 : Ad instantiam Reverendissimi Cardinalis Vitellotii fuimus congregati in domo ejusdem Reverendissimi ad decantandas aliquot missas, et probandum, si verba intelligerentur prout Reverendissimis placet. (Diary of the Pontifical Chapel, quoted by Haberl, l.c.)

† The title of *Reverendissimus* was at this time reserved to Cardinals.

‡ Dr. Haberl is of opinion that the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* is an *early* work of Palestrina, written between the years 1551 and 1554. Pope Marcellus II., as Cardinal Marcello Cervino, had been most assiduous at the Council of Trent in forwarding the cause of Church-music. He was a friend to all artists, and Palestrina venerated him, and therefore dedicated this Mass to his memory. The oldest manuscript of it is preserved at St. Mary Major's; it was first published with its present title in 1567.

which the full meaning and beauty of the words are brought out, and which from every point of view are beyond praise.

But Palestrina is not the only one that worked in this direction, though he is the greatest, nor was the change for the better brought about "in the twinkling of an eye," as readers of Baini would suppose. The action of the Council of Trent was doubtless a great spur to Palestrina to devote his entire energies to enriching the Church with good music. He lived in Rome, amid Princes of the Church, in constant intercourse with the Popes, so that he was fully aware of what those in authority desired and welcomed. The Church had said what she wanted: Palestrina could supply it: and with what richness and abundance has he done so!

On the 19th of June, 1565, St. Charles Borromeo sang Mass in the Sixtine Chapel, in presence of Pope Pius IV., and on this occasion the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* was performed. The Holy Father was so overcome by the magnificence of this work, that he exclaimed: "These surely are the harmonies of the New Canticle which St. John heard in the heavenly Jerusalem, and of which another John gives us an idea in this earthly Jerusalem!" In the same month he raised his pension and in the following October made him "Composer of the Papal Chapel," a post specially created for him, and "probably the highest musical position in the world at that time." This great work was later bound up with others and dedicated by Palestrina to Philip II. of Spain, in the following words: "The useful and pleasurable manipulation of the art of music is a divine gift, approved most highly in Holy Scripture. It is therefore specially suited for sacred purposes and for the service of the Church. Hence, having for many years devoted myself to this art, and that not wholly in vain, to quote the judgment of others, rather than my own, and following the advice of great and God-fearing men, I felt urged to beautify by new melodies the greatest and most venerable object in the Christian faith, the Mass. At these Masses, I have laboured with the great-

est care, for the glory of God, to Whose goodness I owe the gifts that have fallen to me, however small they be."

We will conclude this important episode in the life of Palestrina by giving some portion of Mr. Rockstro's excellent and scholarly criticism on the *Missa Papæ Marcelli*.* "It would be difficult," he says, "to conceive a more perfect model. In depth of thought, intensity of expression, and all the higher qualities which distinguish the work of the Master from that of the pedant, the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* is universally admitted to be unapproachable; while, even when regarded as a monument of mere mechanical skill, it stands absolutely unrivalled. Yet it depends for its effect upon the introduction of no new element whatever, either of construction, or of form. Avoiding all show of empty pedantry, and carefully concealing the consummate art with which the involutions of its periods are conducted, it freely uses all the old contrivances of Fugue, and in the second *Agnus Dei* of closely interwoven Canon, but always as means towards the attainment of a certain end, never in place of the end itself. And, this entire subjugation of artistic power to the demands of expression, is, perhaps, its most prominent feature. It pervades it throughout, from the first note to the last. . . . Every bar of the Mass conceals a miracle of art. His subjects, all original, and all of extreme simplicity, are treated with an inexhaustible variety of feeling, which shows them every moment in some new and beautiful light. Its style is solemn and devotional throughout; but by no means deficient in fire when the sense of the words demands it." Baini describes the *Kyrie* as devout, the *Gloria* as animated, the *Credo* as majestic, the *Sanctus* as angelic, the *Agnus Dei* as prayerful. The success, power, and beauty of this work consist in "the subjugation of Art to the service of nature, of learning to effect, of ingenuity to the laws of beauty."

* Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, Article "Mass."

During his stay at St. Mary Major's (1561-1571), Palestrina's pen was never idle; and the number of his compositions is indeed wonderful. Volume after volume of Masses and Motets followed each other in rapid succession. These volumes were always dedicated to some Pope, Cardinal, or Prince, who had shown him kindness; the words of his dedications are always very beautiful, and show his deep religious spirit and devotion to music. In dedicating a volume of Motets to Cardinal Pio di Carpi, for example, he writes: "It was the wish of our wise forefathers to employ music as a savour to the Word of God, so that those whose pious and God-fearing disposition leads to the Church, may be retained in her by the combination of voices, singing with such variety and charm. If indeed the same diligence had been bestowed upon the adornment of spiritual songs that has fallen to the lot of corrupt ones, the condition of men would certainly be better. I, for my part, while fully conscious of my feeble powers, have held no occupation of greater importance than the setting to music those songs which are sung in the Church in the course of the year, so that they may afford an agreeable impression to the ear." And again, in dedicating a volume of remarkable Motets in 1569 to Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, he thus writes: "Music exercises great influence over the minds of men, not merely cheering, but also guiding them. Those, then, deserve great censure who use such a gift of God for frivolous or unworthy purposes, exciting men, by nature so prone to evil, to immorality. For my own part, from my youth upwards, I have ever held the misuse of music in horror, and most anxiously have I striven that nothing should proceed from my pen which should make any man more wicked or profane. I am now not far from being an old man, and at my mature age it befits me to direct my mind all the more assiduously to those sublime and serious matters, which alone are worthy of a Christian's regard. In token of these my sentiments, I dedicate to you this book, containing many songs for the Festivals, founded on Church melodies."

In 1570, Palestrina was given charge of the music at the Oratory by St. Philip Neri. Baini brings out clearly his great joy at this appointment and how honoured he felt by it. The Oratory, indeed, was one of the great centres of music at the time in Rome. St. Philip, its founder, "was intensely musical. He was profoundly convinced that there is in music and in song a mysterious and a mighty power to stir the heart with high and noble emotions, and an especial fitness to raise it above sense to the love of heavenly things."* Hence we find it laid down in the Oratorian rule that "the Fathers should by music excite themselves to the contemplation of heavenly things"—"musico concentu excitentur ad cælestia contemplanda." St. Philip therefore introduced music wherever he could in the functions of the Church and in the spiritual exercises which he organized for the young men of Rome, and he bestowed the most unremitting care and attention upon the music of the Oratory. We have already mentioned his early connection with Palestrina, and his friendship for Animuccia. Under Philip's care, "the genius, the poetry, the imagination, and the sacred fire with which God had so richly endowed Palestrina, were put to their noblest use." Philip did much to develop in Palestrina the spirit of devotion and loyalty to the Church which so distinguished him, and thus had a mysterious, secret, but important share, so in keeping with that Saint's whole character, in providing much noble music for the Church; for had not Palestrina been a holy man, he could never have written what he did. It was for the Oratory that Palestrina wrote so many of his spiritual Madrigals.†

The following year (1571), Giovanni Animuccia died, and Palestrina was for the second time appointed choirmaster of St. Peter's, a post which he held till his death,

* *Life of St. Philip Neri*, by Cardinal Capecelatro, translated by T. A. Pope, vol. ii., p. 83.

† Vol. 29 of the great edition of Palestrina's entire works, published by Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig.

whilst still keeping up his connection with the Oratory. He at once wrote two Masses,* and in 1572 there followed another volume of Motets, containing the *Tu es Petrus* for six voices, and the well-known *Peccantem me quotidie*. They were dedicated to Duke William of Mantua, and in the dedication Palestrina calls attention to the fact that the volume contained "the first works of his children." †

From the time of Palestrina's re-appointment to the Vatican to his death in 1594, there is but little to record, and the materials for his biography are little more than a list of his works. This, then, affords us an opportunity to dwell awhile upon the character and family life of Pierluigi, as also to attempt some criticism of his works.

Palestrina was a good father and a good husband, and his home life was a sufficiently happy one. Of his four sons, Angelo, Ridolfo, Silla, and Igino, the three first were most promising boys and showed great aptitude for music, in which they were carefully trained by their father, but all three died young, while Igino; who survived his father, was a source of constant annoyance to him, and brought great discredit on his family. The genuine piety and high-mindedness of Pierluigi are seen in every page of his writings, and are borne out by the opinion of his contemporaries, who entertained for him the greatest love and veneration. Though never rich, he always had sufficient to live upon in comfort, and documents show that he was both careful and thrifty.‡ Exaggerated accounts of his poverty are given in most of the current text-books, but recent investigations show them to be void of real foundation. He complains, it

* *O magnum mysterium*, for five voices, and *Veni Creator*, for six voices.

† This fact is, however, their sole claim to notoriety, for in themselves they are mere exercises in harmony.

‡ See especially *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 1894: 'Synchronistische Tabelle über Giovanni Pierluigi und Orlando di Lasso,' by Dr. Haberl.

is true, of his poverty in the dedication to one of his works, but this must be interpreted to mean that he had not sufficient means to publish all he would wish, nor in as pleasing and attractive a form.

The number of his works is indeed astounding, bearing glorious testimony to the fertility of his genius, to his unflagging industry, and devotion to the Church. His Masses alone number 95, and to these we must add 68 Offertories, 270 Motets, 135 Madrigals, 45 Hymns, with many other compositions, such as Litanies, Magnificats and Lamentations.* The total number of his works is said to be slightly in excess of 900, all abounding in melody, marked by great simplicity, marvellously varied, and, above all, essentially religious and calculated to raise the hearts and minds of men in prayer to God, giving them a foretaste of the music of Heaven. "The music of Palestrina is the most ideally perfect religious music that can be conceived—pure and serene, free from agitation or excitement, though rising at times to a high pitch of exaltation and vigour in the expression of praise and thanksgiving. There is no sentimentality about it and no affectation. It seems to belong almost to a different world from ours, and people who have not wide sympathies and a feeling for what is loftiest and noblest in religion have hardly any chance of entering into it in the fullest sense."† Palestrina raises us entirely from ourselves; his music is that of pure devotion, and is pervaded by a calmness and peace that are not of this world. The conflicts of reason with passion no longer exist; nature is wholly subdued, and the expression is one of ecstatic beauty, of undisturbed contemplation.

"The chant of the Church," as Dr. Ullathorne says, "is the prayer of the Church, is the praise of God, is the worship of our Almighty Creator and all-merciful Redeemer. The chant of the Church is the cry of

* The figures are merely approximate.

† *Studies of Great Composers,* by Dr. Hubert Parry, p. 15.

repentance, is the supplication for mercy, is the entreaty of needy and suffering hearts for grace and divine consolation. The song of the Church is the high-toned expression of the soul's aspirations to God in faith and hope, in love and gratitude. That sacred song blends its voices with the action of the Holy Sacrifice, and worships the Lamb upon the altar, Who hath redeemed us with His Blood. That sacred song is the response of the faithful to the supplications of the priest, who sing with their hearts what the choir sing with their voices."* The principles enumerated in this beautiful passage were fully grasped by Palestrina. Before putting pen to paper, he seems to have placed himself in God's presence, to have realised the place and purpose for which he was to write, and to have drunk in to the full the meaning and force of the sacred words he was about to employ. The Mass and Offices of the Church seem to take possession of his music, instead of his music taking possession of them, as is so often the case. His music, as has well been said, is always *ancilla Domini*, the handmaid of the Lord. It never forces itself on the attention, nor disturbs the prayers of those who hear it, but rather is an agreeable accompaniment and spur to their devotion. It never excites us unduly, and though intensely moving and pathetic, it is so without effort, without endeavouring to be so. It is marked by great repose, singular pathos, delicacy, dignity, and grace. It has a power of speaking to the heart, which few other compositions possess. To each voice Palestrina assigns its full importance; no voice is merely accompanied or supported by the others, but each has its own distinctive meaning and part to play. "No voice is allowed to introduce itself, without having something important to say. There is no such thing as a filling up of the harmony, in any of his works. The harmony is produced by the interweaving of the separate subjects: and when astonished by the unexpected effect of some strangely beautiful chord, we stop to examine

* *Discourse on Church Music*, p. 5.

its structure, we invariably find it to be no more than the natural consequence of some little point of imitation, or the working out of some melodious response, which fell into the delicious combination of its own accord. In no other Master is this peculiarity so strikingly noticeable. It is no uncommon thing for a composer to delight us with a lovely point of repose, but they always seem to put the chord into its place *on purpose;* whereas Palestrina's loveliest harmonies come of themselves, while he is quietly fitting his subjects together, without, so far as the most careful criticism can ascertain, a thought beyond the melodic involutions of his vocal phrases." *

The music of Palestrina is for the most part founded on themes taken from the Gregorian, and his method of treating them is most varied. Often they are harmonised quite simply, yet with a due reverence, for the modulations suggested by the various old Church-modes, out of which each hymn is taken. He is never, however, fettered by a pedantic following of the prescribed intervals of the scale: he will give its spirit rather than its letter. A marvellous instance of this kind of treatment will be found in the last verse of the "Vexilla Regis"—*O Crux ave, spes unica*—one of the most pathetic of all his creations. The tune is in the "first," or Phrygian, mode, from which John Sebastian Bach has drawn some of his noblest inspirations; its expression is one of great majesty, but its grandeur is tempered by the most solemn sadness and tenderness. Palestrina's treatment of the tune is most characteristic. Its grandeur and majesty he brings out unimpaired by means of great simplicity and restraint in the structure of the harmony, while the tender sadness which he infuses into the melody at the words *hoc passionis tempore* and *reisque dele crimina* is so touching, that the heart must indeed be hard that is unmoved by it.

Another method of treatment, and one in which we

* Article "School" in Grove's *Dictionary of Music*, by W. S. Rockstro.

discover the so-called "style" of Palestrina, consists in the weaving together of the voices in the most wonderfully intricate and scientific combinations, the different sections of each tune being treated as subjects for fugues and canons, and one subject being frequently employed as counterpoint to another. His great Masses abound in such devices; but the device is always the spontaneous and natural expression of the composer's thought, and ever subservient to the emotional feeling he wishes to arouse.

His themes are chosen from the Hymnal rather than from the Antiphonal, hymn tunes being essentially of a more rhythmical nature than the prose antiphons, and consequently more suggestive of that rhythmical treatment, which is the fundamental characteristic of all classical music. But Palestrina's rhythmical sense is of that true and vigorous kind, that prefers energy and expressiveness to mere symmetry: and thus we find him "aptly and variously drawing out" his periods, as the exigencies of the text require. And here perhaps is found the secret of the difficulty of performing his music. It is idle to speak of the "phrasing of Palestrina's music" as a "lost art." The performance must always follow the natural and spontaneous impulse of the composer, who has adapted his musical sentences to the emotions he would express. And thus, for an adequate performance of one of his compositions, neither more nor less is required than an adequate *understanding* of it; and a pedantic following of prescribed "expression-marks" and "legato-bows," can never result in that truly devotional rendering, which Palestrina's music so eminently demands. By such means, we may attain to a sonorous and even "highly-finished" rendering, but the hearer will remain cold and unimpressed. The singers must realise in fact, that they are engaged in arousing in the hearts of the faithful those emotions, which are the outcome of the thoughts expressed in the Liturgy of the Church—emotions not read into those thoughts by some impressionist, but found in them and nobly expressed by a devout and saintly genius.

Palestrina was to such a degree the master of intellectual form, that abstruse and complicated combinations are to him both natural and spontaneous: so that whether he sings to us in some simply-harmonised melody, or in the most marvellously artificial fugue, the expression is always the same—it is one of touching simplicity, of child-like sweetness and devotion. Who can ever forget the impression made by the first hearing of the great six-part Mass? What a revelation of tone-colour is to be obtained from the voices, of effects as varied as ever Wagner could produce from his orchestra! But perhaps of all that can be said of the external presentation of his works, their most striking feature is that every note in every part is essentially a singing note; not merely vocal as contrasted to instrumental, but vocal with the very ideal fulness of song, fraught with love for the sweetness and holiness of the human voice upraised in the praise of God.

It has been said that Palestrina was a reformer and innovator. He was a reformer in the best sense of the word, but in no sense was he an innovator. He used the material that was to hand, purified it of all that was bad and embellished it by his noble use of what was good. By so doing he has enriched the Church with an inexhaustible repertory of truly religious music for all seasons of the Christian year—a repertory strangely ignored and neglected, but which will ever prove to be the true store-house by which the devotion and reverence of the Christian family for the things of God are to be kept alive and nurtured. That it is so ignored and neglected is due chiefly to the inefficiency of the majority of our choirs. The music of Palestrina is doubtless difficult, though in reality so simple. But for the pitch to be maintained, the words to be clearly articulated, the light and shade to be carefully adjusted, the quality of the tone to be round and pure, the phrasing to be intelligent and distinct,—all this requires no small training and perseverance. And this our choirs will not face. At certain seasons of the year, they probably give a poor

rendering of some of Palestrina's works; it is voted dull, if not painful, to listen to: they grow disgusted, and seek a sorry refuge in works in which they may take liberties and yet avoid detection, and wherein there is ample scope for personal display, for which happily we find no opportunity in the works of Palestrina. It is here, then, that a beginning must be made, if Palestrina and his noble associates are again to be accorded their true position. Our choirs must be educated, especially by a greater use of boys' voices, to the exclusion of women, their ears attuned to the beauties of Palestrina, and thus gradually the works of the *Principe della Musica* will be more universally known, will be rendered with real taste and finish, and, above all, with devotion, and his merits will be appreciated.

But to resume our narrative. In 1575 Palestrina published a volume of Motets, containing the two famous numbers, *Hodie Christus natus est* and *Surge, illuminare, Jerusalem*, which are not surpassed by any of his other compositions. In this same year, Gregory XIII. granted a Jubilee, and a little event occurred in connection with it, which must have been most gratifying to Palestrina. From his native town there marched to Rome a band of more than 500 pilgrims, headed by a hundred children, 'clothed as angels,' with branches of olive in their hands. Three choirs had been formed from amongst them, and as they marched they sang—and their music was that of Pierluigi, of whom they were so justly proud.

In the following year (1576), Pope Gregory gave Palestrina a task of a most laborious and thankless nature, and one which he found most irksome and distasteful, though too loyal a son of the Church to refuse it. It was to revise and arrange the Gradual and Antiphonal. To his famous pupil Guidetti, Palestrina entrusted the Antiphonal, reserving the Gradual for himself, of which, however, he only completed the first part—the *Proprium de Tempore*. This was published in 1614 after a final revision by Felice Anerio and Fran-

cesco Suriano, two of Palestrina's pupils.* Guidetti published his share of the task in 1582, under the title of *Directorium Chori*, and in his preface says, that though well used to editing Church music, he had not trusted his own judgment, but had handed over the whole work for the correction and inspection of "*viro musicæ artis facile principi, Joanni Petro Aloysio.*"†

On July 21st, 1580, the death of Lucrezia de Goris ended Palestrina's long and happy married life, and his grief knew no bounds. "I will now say farewell to music," he wrote, "for music and mourning do not go well together. I will now occupy myself solely with the tremendous thoughts of my latter end, and the last of my works shall be the motet, *Super flumina Babylonis*."

Sorrow mellows men, and Palestrina's later works (for happily he changed his purpose), are marked by the deepest pathos and feeling. Palestrina is an instance of what not unfrequently happens to those who give way to excessive grief, for, by a kind of reaction, in less than a year he married again—Virginia Dormuli, a widow, with a considerable furrier's business, and some landed property.‡ This, though an unromantic episode, ameliorated his worldly position, and enabled him to publish more of his works.

In the same year he commenced the series of Motets to words taken from the Canticle of Canticles, which have ever been regarded as among the finest of his compositions. Pope Gregory XIII., to whom they were dedicated, gladly accepted them from

* Dr. Haberl has thrown much light on this point by his pamphlet: *Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina and das Graduale Romanum der editio Medicaea von* 1614 (Pustet, Ratisbon, 1894), but much of its contents is of little interest to the general reader.

† Quoted by Haberl, op. cit: p. 13. Guidetti's other famous works are: *Cantus Ecclesiasticus Passionis D.N. Jesu Christi secundum quattuor Evangelistas*, published in 1586, *Cantus Ecclesiasticus Officii Majoris Hebdomadæ*, published in 1587, and *Præfationes in cantu firmo*, published in 1588.

‡ Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch. 1894. p. 94.

the hand of Palestrina, saying: "It will not be difficult to discover the genius of the giver in the gift." To which Palestrina replied: "God grant that my heart may be inflamed with a spark of Divine love, even as I have endeavoured to express with fire the divine sentiments of this poem." The dedicatory epistle is very beautiful, showing, as it does, Palestrina's high idea of the dignity of music, and his deep sorrow that he had ever turned it to secular uses. Be it said, however, that his songs of this class are sentimental merely, and not in the least obscene or lascivious. "But too many poets," he writes, "have composed songs, the words of which treat of love that is estranged to the Christian faith and name. Yet musicians have not cast aside these poems, but many of them have spent their art and diligence to adapt them to music. And by such compositions, they have made for themselves a name, though, to cultivated and serious men, they have, by their choice of bad material, given great offence. It makes me blush and fills me with grief that I too did once belong to this class. But though what has been done cannot now be undone, and though foolishness once committed cannot be recalled, I have changed my views, and have already set to music songs in honour of our Lord and of His holy Mother. And now I have selected those that extol the love of Christ for His Bride—the Song of Solomon. I have written them in a tone more animated than is my wont in music for the Church, but my subject seemed to require this." In 1584, the year in which these Motets were printed, he published yet another volume of Motets, dedicated to Cardinal Andrea Battore,* some numbers of which Baini admired so much, as to say that in writing them Palestrina must have regarded himself simply as the amanuensis of Almighty God.†

* These, with the Motets on the Canticle of Canticles, form vol. 4 of Breitkopf and Härtel's edition.

† The numbers specially selected are *Paucitas dierum meorum*, and *Peccavi, peccavi, quid faciam tibi.*

Before long three new Masses were ready,* and in dedicating them to Pope Gregory XIII., Palestrina writes: "From my youth I have devoted myself to the study of music, and many are of opinion that I have accomplished something in this direction, though I am fully conscious how little it really is. Yet all my progress in this study I am determined to use solely for the glory of God in songs of praise. And since among these, the most beautiful and the most pleasing to God are those which are sung at the Holy Mass, I have selected these trifling compositions to lay as an offering at your feet, and, with your permission, I intend to publish them."

In April, 1585, Gregory died and was succeeded by Sixtus V., to whom Palestrina at once sent an offering of a Mass and Motet (*Tu es pastor ovium*). They had been hurriedly composed, and Sixtus remarked on hearing them: "Palestrina has forgotten the *Missa Papæ Marcelli* and the Motets on the Canticles." Nothing daunted, he again set to work and composed the glorious Mass *Assumpta est Maria* for six voices, which was printed and learnt in time to be performed on the Feast of the Assumption of that year. The Pope himself sang Mass in the church of St. Mary Major, and in his delight with the music, exclaimed: "To-day we had indeed a new Mass, which could only come from the pen of our Pierluigi: the other day I complained of his music, but to-day I am again quite charmed with it. May he often refresh our memory in so pleasant a manner." Sixtus had a special liking for the hymns of the Church and used to hum them to himself: Palestrina, therefore, having in 1586 published three new Masses,† and in the following year, at the request of the Pope, his Lamentations for Holy Week, now turned his attention to the hymns for the year

* Their titles are *Viri Galilaei*, *Te Deum laudamus* and *Dum complerentur*, all for six voices,

† Their titles are *Salve Regina* (for five voices), *O Sacrum Convivium* (for five voices), and *Ecce ego Joannes* (for six voices).

and published them in 1589, with a dedication to the Pope.* Sixtus V. died in 1590, and his successor Urban VII. reigned only thirteen days. On Gregory XIV. being elevated to St. Peter's chair, Palestrina at once, as was his wont, sent him a volume of his compositions. Among those selected for the new Pontiff was the great *Stabat Mater* for eight voices, of which Richard Wagner has furnished us with so splendid an edition.

It was about this time that Palestrina contracted a friendship with William II. Duke of Bavaria. In gratitude for more than one present of money, Palestrina dedicated to him in 1590 a volume of Masses, among which were the well-known *Æterna Christi munera* and *Iste Confessor*. "There are, and always have been," says Palestrina in his dedication, "many princes and lords, who honour music as a heavenly and divine gift, and who are wondrously charmed by its marvellous sweetness. Yet I know of scarce anyone who could be compared to you in his zealous patronage of art. For what the rich as a rule spend on foolish play and useless amusements, you devote to the cause of sacred music, sparing no trouble or expense, that you may most richly adorn by the beauty and power of song the services of the Church, at which you daily assist with great devotion. From all parts you seek for the best singers, and richly do you reward them. With kindly feelings you receive the works that are sent to you in this branch of art, and with admirable generosity you recompense them. As I have experienced this more than once, and feel myself greatly indebted to you, I am forced to think both night and day how best to pay off this debt and prove my gratitude to you. Therefore, though you already possess such an abundance of musical compositions, that I fear, as the saying is, 'to carry owls to Athens,' yet I have ventured to dedicate to your high and exalted name this volume of Masses, lately published by me."

* Vol. 8, of the edition of Breitkopf and Härtel.

The last year (1593) of the life of Palestrina was probably the most prolific of any. In it he published his volume of no less than 68 offertories for five voices,* covering the whole ecclesiastical year, two volumes of Litanies, another volume of Masses, and, lastly, 30 Spiritual Madrigals, in honour of Our Blessed Lady, dedicated to Christina, the wife of Ferdinand de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Other works were on hand, but in January 1594, he was seized with an attack of pleurisy, of which he died. He felt his end had come, and prepared for it with the greatest care and resignation. We cannot describe the death of Palestrina better than in the words of Cardinal Capecelatro.† "On the 26th of January 1594, Palestrina took to his bed. Finding his strength diminish, he sent for St. Philip, who ran eagerly to cheer him with his presence, and soothe him with his ineffable charity. The next day Philip heard his general confession; on the 28th he received Holy Viaticum, and on the 31st the Sacrament of Extreme Unction. Philip scarcely quitted the Vatican, in which Palestrina was lodged, and was always at the side of his tenderly loved disciple, with words of consolation and of hope. Finding himself worse on the 31st, Pierluigi sent for his son Igino, embraced him and blessed him, and gave him counsel befitting a Christian father on the threshold of eternity. He then added: 'I charge you that all my unpublished works be printed, as soon as may be, for the glory of God most high, and for His worship in His holy temples.' Then he blessed him once more, and bade him farewell.

"On the 1st of February, the inflammation and fever had greatly increased, but he was still able to pass the whole day in prayer and converse with his dear Father Philip. At dawn of day on the Feast of the Purification, Palestrina remembered with gratitude and joy that, but a few days before,

* Vol. 9 of the edition of Breitkopf and Härtel.

† *Life of St. Philip*, vol. ii., pp. 102, 103.

he had composed and printed the *Laudi* of Mary, and this remembrance gave him renewed fervour and hope. And then Philip said to him, with a countenance lighted up with the love of God: 'O my son, would it gladden you to go to enjoy the feast which to-day is held in Heaven in honour of the Queen of Angels and of Saints?' A thrill of tender emotion passed through the heart of the dying man, he paused awhile and then answered: 'Yes, surely, I do most eagerly desire it; may Mary my advocate obtain for me this grace from her Divine Son!' Scarcely had he uttered these words, when in fullest possession of all his powers, full of peace and trust in the mercy of the Lord, he gently breathed out his soul to God, and went, through the intercession of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the prayers of his holy confessor Philip, where the song of divine praise flows on unceasingly." He was buried in the old St. Peter's, in the chapel of SS. Simon and Jude, and on his tomb were inscribed the words: "Johannes Petrus Aloysius Praenestinus, Musicae Princeps."

We must thus conclude this short notice of the life and works of this "Prince of Music," trusting that the recent increase of interest in his works will be steadily maintained, that he will become daily better known and admired, and that this little biography may have its humble share in bringing about so desirable a result.

# THE ANGLICAN CLAIM OF APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

BY

CARDINAL WISEMAN.

*Reprinted from the "Dublin Review," Aug., 1839.*

WITH A PREFACE BY THE

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# PREFACE.

THE following essay, by Cardinal Wiseman, must always possess a peculiar interest for English Catholics: for it was this which dealt a blow to John Henry Newman's confidence in Anglicanism, from which, by the grace of God, he never recovered. The late Dean Church, in his account of the Oxford movement, gives the following graphic description of the effect of Cardinal Wiseman's argument on the mind of the great leader of Anglicanism:—"In the summer of 1839, he [Newman] had set himself to study the history of the Monophysite controversy. 'I have no reason' he writes 'to suppose that the thought of Rome came across my mind at all. . . . It was during this course of reading that for the first time a doubt came across me of the tenableness of Anglicanism. I had seen the shadow of a hand on the wall. He who has seen a ghost cannot be as if he had never seen it. The heavens had opened and closed again.' . . . But another blow came, and then another. An article by Dr. Wiseman on the Donatists greatly disturbed him. The words of St. Augustine about the Donatists, *securus judicat orbis terrarum*, rang continually in his ears, like words out of the sky. . . . It was 'a most uncomfortable article,' he writes in his letters; 'the first real hit from Romanism which has happened to me'; it gave him, as he says, 'a stomach-ache.' . . . . It told on him as nothing had yet told on him. What it did, was to 'open a vista which was closed before, and of which he could not see the end'; 'we are not at the bottom of things,' was the sting it left

behind. From this time, the hope and exultation with which, in spite of checks and misgivings, he had watched the movement, gave way to uneasiness and distress." (*The Oxford Movement*, by R. W. Church, pp. 225-7, 1892.)

Besides the historical interest which thus attaches to this essay, its power is such that it may yet have a work to do in bringing others to the same happy conclusion to which Newman was brought; and in this hope the Catholic Truth Society has thought well to republish it in a separate form.

The point in the following essay which seems to have especially troubled Newman was the necessity of communion with the aggregate of Churches throughout the world. England found herself in the sixteenth century separated from the *orbis terrarum*, and has been so ever since: such separation, according to St. Augustine and others, is fatal. It is an argument which has lost none of its force during the last fifty years.

LUKE RIVINGTON.

# THE ANGLICAN CLAIM OF APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION.

In our former article,* we examined, by the light of antiquity, the claims advanced by the Oxford Divines in favour of Apostolical Succession in their Church. In order to simplify the controversy, we made concessions till we almost feared we might have scandalized our brethren. We wished to take up the controversy upon the lowest imaginable grounds, and for this purpose we made the following liberal allowances.

First, we put aside all questions respecting the validity or invalidity of ordination and consecration in the Anglican Church.

Secondly, we entirely considered the case of this Church as one to be investigated by canonical enactments, overlooking the great point of ecclesiastical and doctrinal union with the Universal Church, which is essential, *jure divino*, for the legitimate existence and exercise of hierarchical authority.

Thirdly, we limited the rights of the Holy See to be a party to the lawful appointment of bishops in England, to those of the patriarchate, instead of considering those of its supremacy.

Fourthly, we even imagined the hypothesis that the rights exercised by the Pope, as patriarch of England, had no better foundation than usurpation at the outset.

After making all these abatements in our just assumptions, we proved that the advocates of the Anglican Church could not sustain any claim on her part

* *Dublin Review*, October, 1838.

to a share in Apostolical Succession. But it was not by any means our intention to leave the investigation there. On the contrary, we promised to raise the question to a higher level, and discuss our adversaries' pretensions, or rather repel them, upon considerations involving more serious consequences. The following extract from our former article will at once explain our actual position, and define the point from which the present starts:—

"After our clear exposition of our motives, we shall not of course be suspected of having yielded too much, or of having placed the rights of the Holy See upon too low a ground. We have certainly given up much. We have discussed the matter as one of ecclesiastical right, rather than of divine; and have shown that, even thus, the jurisdiction and succession claimed by the Tracts [*i.e.*, the *Tracts for the Times*] for their Church are null. But in fact it would be in our power to show that such rights as the Apostolical See held, and yet does hold, over the episcopacy of the Church, are not of ecclesiastical origin, but belong essentially to the Chair of Peter, as granted to it by our Lord Himself. This leads us to another and a much higher ground on which to base any resistance to the pretensions of the English Church and its upholders to be an ecclesiastical establishment or 'a branch,' as they choose to call it, 'of the Catholic Church,'—a ground, too, which still dispenses with all enquiry into the validity of Anglican ordination. We mean the state of schism into which it put itself at the Reformation, and which at once acted as a blight upon all its ecclesiastical powers,—withering them, and rendering them incapable of any act of valid jurisdiction, or any place in the Apostolical Succession. This portion of our argument, with many other matters connected with this subject, we reserve for our third [the present] article upon the Tracts. We shall treat it by the light of ecclesiastical antiquity, and exhibit instances curiously parallel with that of the Anglo-Hibernian establishment."

We hardly consider it necessary, for the adversaries

whom we are combating, to prove that a Church, placed in a state of schism, at once forfeits all right to the lawful exercise of its hierarchical functions. All the examples quoted in our former article, and the abundant testimonies which we shall give in this, will sufficiently prove that, according to the principles of the ancient Church, a state of schism is a state of sin, of outlawry, and deprivation; and that, even where ecclesiastical functions might be *validly* exercised, they cannot be so, either lawfully or salutarily. The bishops of a schismatical Church could not be admitted to vote or deliberate at a General Council, nor be present, save as an accused or an accusing party; they could not be allowed to communicate with other bishops, without first retracting their schismatical principles; and upon returning to the unity of the Church, they would require to be formally reinstated into their sees, or would be removed to others, or remain suspended. In fine, it is only in the true Church of God that Apostolical Succession can be had; and any one who, even maintaining the integrity of faith, held not to unity of communion, was anciently reckoned to be out of that Church. "Nobiscum estis," writes St. Augustine, "in baptismo, in symbolo, in cæteris Dominicis sacramentis: in spiritu autem unitatis, et in vinculo pacis, in ipsa denique Catholica Ecclesia nobiscum non estis." *

The paragraph we have extracted from our former article pledges us to the painful duty of proving that the Anglican Church is fundamentally and essentially a schismatical Church, and, as such, has no right to a place in the Apostolical Succession. Now, though we thus advance to a closer position with our adversaries than in our last argument, yet we are aware that we are by no means going to the extent to which we have a right. Is the English Church *only* schismatical? Is it not as truly heretical? We unhesitatingly reply, Yes.

* "You are with us in baptism, in the creed, in the other sacraments of the Lord; but in the spirit of unity, in the bond of peace,—in fine, in the Catholic Church itself—you are not with us." Ad Vincent Rogat. Ep. xciii. ol. xlviii.

The one state cannot easily exist without the other. St. Jerome clearly distinguishes the two, but at the same time draws this conclusion, of how naturally one runs into the other. "Inter hæresim et schisma," he observes, "hoc esse arbitrantur, quod hæresim perversum dogma habet; schisma, propter episcopalem discessionem, ab ecclesia separatur. Cæterum nullum schisma non sibi aliquam confingit hæresim, ut recte ab ecclesia recessisse videatur."* And so likewise St. Augustine: "Schisma [est] recens congregationis ex aliqua sententiarum diversitate dissensio; hæresis autem schisma inveteratum."† That is to say, seldom will schism fail to justify its separation from the Church by departing from its doctrine, and so insisting that the supposed errors, which it abandoned, obliged it to separation. In this way does the Anglican Church plead doctrinal necessities for its schism,—and that very plea proves heresy. But in our argument on the subject of Apostolical Succession we are willing to consider the separation as simply schismatical, in the same manner as we speak of the Greek Church, which is, in truth, heretical. The fact is that we can attain our purpose with the more lenient charge for our basis, and therefore we prefer it. The case of heresy in the Church of England, can, indeed, be summarily made out on the simple ground of its having rejected the decrees of an Œcumenical Council. Still it might be considered necessary to go into details of doctrines, to establish the point to full satisfaction. At the same time the Fathers make no distinction between heresy and schism, as a ground of forfeiture of the rights belonging to the true Church, of which jurisdiction is one. Once more let us hear the

*In Epist. ad Tit. c. iii. "This they suppose to distinguish heresy from schism, that erroneous doctrine constitutes heresy,—while schism is a separation from the Church, by the secession of bishops. However, no schism fails to frame some heresy to justify its departure from the Church."

†The same Saint writing against Gaudentius, says: "Cum schismaticus sis sacrilega discessione, et hæreticus sacrilego dogmate." lib. ii. c. ix.

great Doctor of the Western Church:—"Credimus et sanctam ecclesiam, utique Catholicam. Nam et hæretici et schismatici congregationes suas ecclesias vocant: sed hæretici de Deo falsa pronunciando, ipsam fidem violant; schismatici autem dissensionibus iniquis a fraterna charitate dissiliunt, quamvis ea credant quæ credimus. Quapropter nec hæretici pertinent ad Ecclesiam Catholicam quæ diligit Deum; nec schismatici, quoniam diligit proximum."*

From the passages we have already given, it must sufficiently appear what is the distinction between the two states, the one supposing error in faith, the other separation from unity. Now in investigating the position of the Anglican Church in regard to the latter, we wish to examine it by the light of antiquity, and to judge it entirely by the rules laid down and determined by the Fathers of the primitive Church. Such, in fact, is the standard by which these divines desire to be measured; and it is a satisfaction to us to have this point, at least, of complete agreement. We shall, therefore, take a case from the history of the early Church, which we consider parallel, even to an extraordinary degree, with that of the English Established Church; from it we shall learn what were the criterions by which the Fathers of the ancient Church judged of a case of schism, and what the manner in which they expressed their sentiments concerning it. We shall, moreover, hear the objections brought by the schismatics, and the answers given to them.

No schism longer or more extensively afflicted the Church, or gave rise to more interesting discussions, than that of the Donatists in Africa; and we therefore

* S. Aug. De Fide et Symb. c. x. tom. vi. p. 161. "We believe the holy, yea, the Catholic Church. For heretics likewise and schismatics call their congregations Churches; but heretics, by speaking falsely of God, violate faith; and schismatics, by wicked dissensions, depart from fraternal charity, although they believe what we believe. Wherefore neither heretics belong to the Catholic Church, which loves God, nor schismatics, because she loves her neighbour."

select it as an illustration of the controversy between us and the Anglicans.

The Donatists, although they received their name from Donatus, schismatical bishop of Carthage, yet dated from the intrusion of his predecessor, Majorinus, consecrated by several bishops, while Cæcilianus held the see; on the ground that the latter was disqualified from holding it, because his consecrators had delivered up the sacred volumes to the persecutors. These bishops, seventy in number, assembled in council at Carthage, with Secundus, of Tigisi, primate of Numidia, at their head, wrote to the Churches of all Africa a synodal letter, in which they declared the consecration of Cæcilianus to be schismatical, and refused to communicate with him.* Here then we have a strong case, in the supposition that each national Church has an independent existence. A large body of bishops, headed by the neighbouring primate, steps in to examine an election charged with grievous irregularities, and pronounces a sentence which is communicated to all the rest of the African Church. They consider Cæcilianus as an intruder, and appoint Majorinus in his place. A large portion of the African Church assent to their sentence, and from henceforth consider the latter as the legitimate archbishop, and refuse to hold communion with the former. On the other hand, many continue to consider Cæcilianus as true bishop of Carthage, and remain united with him in communion.

But before examining how this complicated state of things was resolved, we must not omit to say a few words concerning the unhappy passions that led to this schism; the reader, we think, will be as struck as we have always been with their exact resemblance to those that produced the separation of England from the communion of the Church. St. Optatus sums them up in these words: "Schisma igitur illo tempore confusæ

* St. Aug. in Brevicul. Collationis, cap. xiv. Oper. tom. ix. p. 569. Auct. lib. cont. Fulgentium Donatist. cap. xxvi. Ibid. Append. p. 12.

mulieris iracundia peperit, ambitus nutrivit, avaritia roboravit."* The first of these causes was the anger of a powerful woman called Lucilla, who could not brook the discipline and reproofs of the true Church.† She thought it therefore advisable to excite a schism, and with money and influence encouraged those bishops who were already inclined to cause one. Who does not here see a remarkable coincidence with the case of Anne Boleyn and her fautors,‡ who, seeing that the discipline of the Church would not admit of her impious designs, brought about, as the first cause, the king's awful separation? "irascenti et dolenti," as St. Optatus writes, "ne disciplinæ succumberet." The second cause of the schism was ambition; in Africa, that of some who sought to obtain episcopal dignity; in England, that of Henry, who desired to possess the supremacy of the national Church. The third was covetousness, in both cases, after the wealth of the Church. A considerable quantity of Church plate and ornaments had been deposited in the hands of some leading men among the clergy and people, by the Deacon Felix, from fear of persecution. These they appropriated to themselves, and, when called on by Cæcilianus to restore what was not theirs, preferred to become schismatics, so as to retain possession of their ill-gotton wealth. A very similar desire to enrich themselves by the plunder of the Church and appropriation of the accumulated wealth of ages, will easily be recognized as the chief corroborator, in powerful men among the laity and clergy, of their wish to depart from the unity of faith.

* St. Optatus De Schism. Donatist. lib. i. cap. xix. ed. Dupin, p. 18. "The schism, therefore, was at that time bred by the rage of a disgraced woman, was nourished by ambition, and strengthened by covetousness."

† Ib. c. xvi. She had been reprehended by Cæcilianus for superstitious devotion to unauthenticated relics.

‡ "Cum omnibus suis potens et factiosa femina, communioni misceri noluit." Ib. c. xviii.

The foundations of the schism thus laid, it became every day more and more complicated in its operation. For the number of bishops who maintained it was very considerable, and spread over the whole of Christian Africa, to such an extent that many dioceses were entirely in their hands, and the Catholics in some districts exceedingly few in number. The Donatists became so powerful as to take forcible possession of churches, and seize upon the property and persons of the Catholics. Hence the civil power found it necessary to interfere, and send deputies into Africa, to repress the extravagances and chastise the excesses of these desperate men. This only led to their having a new boast, that of confessors and martyrs, titles which they readily gave to all that suffered for crimes connected with the schism.* Many of the questions of fact, as we learn from St. Augustine, became, in course of time, involved in obscurity, such as the true case of Cæcilanus's consecration, and his real character; so that, in truth, it had become difficult for a simple individual to unravel the matter, or decide for himself to which party he ought to belong. The Catholic pastors therefore exerted themselves, by every means in their power, to point out such simple arguments as would at once convince the most illiterate with whom they ought to side. These we shall proceed to present to our readers.

In the first place, they generally treat with the Donatists as with schismatics, and not heretics. It is a question whether these men insisted upon the erroneous doctrine generally attributed to them, of having rebaptized those who had been baptized by heretics, whether such truly or only in their judgment. St. Augustine quotes Tichonius, of whom we shall later speak, as assuring us that in 330 a council of two hundred and seventy Donatist bishops condemned the

* See, for instance the Acts of Macrobius, written with all the pathos of those of the true martyrs, and those of Maximian and Isaac, first published by Mabillon, and republished in St. Optatus's Works, p. 193, seq. Macrobius was the Foxe of the Donatists.

practice; and as appealing to witnesses still living in 380.* The same Father acquits them of any error respecting the Trinity, although Donatus himself is supposed by him to have had some erroneous opinions concerning it. St. Optatus clearly acquits them of errors in faith, thus writing to Parmenianus: "Bene clausisti hortum hæreticis, bene revocasti claves ad Petrum, &c... Vobis verò schismaticis, quamvis in Catholica non sitis, hæc negari non possunt, quia vobiscum vera et communia sacramenta traxistis. Quare cum hæc omnia hæreticis bene negentur, quid tibi visum est, hæc et vobis negare voluisse, quos schismaticos esse manifestum est? Vos enim foras existis."† Hence this saint always calls Parmenianus by the title of brother; and, when this was indignantly rejected, vindicates it at length in the opening of his fourth book. Once more he repeats that the Donatists are brethren, because they possess the same sacraments.‡

2ndly. The Donatists, as well as their adversaries, claimed the title of the Catholic Church. The general body of them (for we shall see that an important modification of their principles on this head was later introduced among them) maintained that the Catholic, that is, the true Church, only existed among themselves, and cut off from its pale all who were not in communion with them.§ At the celebrated Conference of Carthage, held

* Ep. xxxix.

† lib. 1. c. xii. p. 12. "Rightly hast thou closed up the garden to heretics, rightly hast thou claimed the keys for Peter. . . But to you schismatics, although you are not in the Catholic Church, these things cannot be denied, because you have taken the true sacraments in common with us. Wherefore, since these are all rightly denied to heretics, why have you thought that there is any wish to deny them to you who are schismatics? For you have gone out."

‡ Cap. ii. p. 72. However St. Augustine occasionally calls them heretics, as Cont. lit. Petil. lib. i. c. 1, where he says, "Donatistarum hæreticorum." He again argues the point more fully, Cont. Crescon. Gram. lib. ii. cap. 4.

§ "Eam (ecclesiam) tu frater, Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixistis." S. Opt. lib. ii. cap. i. p. 28.

by order of Honorius, in 411, between the Catholic and Donatist bishops, the former headed by St. Augustine, the latter by Petilianus, the schismatics were exceedingly indignant that the title of *Catholic* should be exclusively claimed by, and given to, the other side. On the third day of the conference, when the moderator Marcellinus called the orthodox by this name, Petilianus rose and said, "Only that side is the Catholic which shall carry off the victory in this contest."* But throughout the conference, the Catholics strove in vain to bring their opponents to the point as to who had a right to be considered the true Church; and it may be worth while to extract a few passages from the Acts, to show how similar the mode of argument pursued on both sides is to what would be pursued in a modern debate between Catholics and Protestants.

"Fortunatianus, bishop of the Catholic Church, said; 'Explain the grounds of your separation and dissension from the universal Church, spread over the entire world.'" After some tergiversation, being once more pressed by Fortunatianus, "Petilianus, bishop, said: 'That the Catholic Church is with me, our pure observance of the law, and your vices and crimes establish.'" He then goes off to other matters irrelevant to this question. Later, when Marcellinus once more gives the title of Catholic to the anti-Donatist side, Petilianus again demands that the Acts should give his party the same title. Marcellinus replies that he gives that name to one party, because the imperial decree bestows it; and then Petilianus answers that till the present contest is decided, it will be to them but an empty name. "He shall obtain it," he adds, "who at its conclusion, shall be found truly a Christian."† Emeritus, another Donatist bishop, spoke in the same strain. St. Augustine had urged the necessity of being in communion with the Church which the Scriptures proclaim must

* Gesta. Collat. Carthag. diei 3. cxlvi. ad. Calc. Oper. S. Opt. p. 305.

† Ibid. p. 299.

be diffused over the entire world, "whose communion," he adds, "we appear to hold, but which is falsely charged by you with grievous crimes." To this Emeritus replied, that whoever is truly a Christian, he only is Catholic and can claim the name; and, that though it is by a sort of prescription borne on the forehead by the other party, yet it should be placed between the two as the reward of the victors.* This speech of Emeritus contains another plea, presenting a curious resemblance to the reasoning of the *Tracts* to which we may later allude.

3rdly. In addition to this desire to claim an equal right with their opponents to the name of Catholic; we must notice the desire on the part of the Donatists to disclaim this name † or to fasten a similar one on the Catholics, just as that of "Romanist" or "Papist" is in vain applied to us by Protestants. Thus Petilianus, in the same conference, said: "Donatistos nos appellandos esse credunt, cum si nominum paternorum ratio vertitur, et ego eos dicere possum, immò palam aperteque designo, Mensuristos et Caecilianistos esse.".‡

Let us now see how the Fathers argued on the other side, and what broad, clear, and simple arguments they chose to convict the Donatists of the schism; to prove to them that they belonged not to the Church of Christ, that is, to the Catholic Church, but must be content to bear the title which at once designated them as separatists, and followers of men and not of God.

* "Quicunque justis legitimisque ex causis Christianus fuerit approbatus, ille meus est Catholicus, illi hoc nomen imponitur, ille debet sibi hanc regulam vindicare; quamvis ipsa Catholica, quæ nunc pro præscriptione partis adversæ quasi in fronte quadam rite adversum nos temperari cognoscitur, medium esse debet; et in judicio ita constitui, ut hoc nomen victor accipiat." Ibid. p. 301.

† The Tracts disallow the title of Protestant as applied to the Anglican Church. Vol. iii. p. 32. See also Mr. Newman's "Letter to Dr. Faussett," 2nd edit.

‡ "They think that we ought to be called Donatists; whereas, if account has to be taken of the parental names, I could call them, yea, I do openly and publicly call them, Mensurians and Caecilianists." Ibid, p. 296.

I. The first, the most frequently and the most earnestly urged of these arguments, is the fact of the Donatist Church, however numerous its bishops and its people, being excluded from communion by other Churches, and not being admitted by them within the pale of the true Church. And this, as we shall see, is not an argument based upon right, but upon fact:—it does not require, in the opinion of the Fathers, any previous examination into which party was right; the very fact of one's being in communion with foreign Churches, and the other's not, was considered a decisive proof that the latter was necessarily in a state of schism. They lay down as principles, that the true Church of Christ was to be dispersed over the entire world, and that consequently, no national Church could claim for itself the distinction of being this only true Church. Thus reasons St. Optatus: "Ergo Ecclesia una est. . . Haec apud omnes haereticos et schismaticos esse non potest. Restat ut uno loco sit. Eam tu, frater Parmeniane, apud vos solos esse dixisti. . . Ergo ut in particula Africae, in angulo parvæ regionis, apud vos esse possit; apud nos in alia parte Africae non erit? In Hispaniis, in Gallia, in Italia, ubi vos non estis, non erit?"* He then enumerates other countries in which the Church existed, that held not communion with the Donatists: and reasons upon the texts of Scripture, which promise the entire earth to Christ as His kingdom.

Now the reasoning here is twofold, and in two ways applicable to modern controversy. In the first place, it attacks the foolish presumption of those who would maintain that the Anglican Church is the only apostolic one, the only true Church of God, in

* "Therefore, the Church is one. . . It cannot be with all heretics and schismatics. It must therefore be only in one place. Thou, brother Parmenianus, hast said that it is with you alone. Therefore, that it may be with you in a small portion of Africa, in a little corner of the land, with us, in another part of Africa, it is not? In Spain, in Gaul, in Italy, where you are not, it is not?" lib. ii. cap. 1. p. 28.

consequence of the corruption of every other in communion with the Holy See. This is a common boast, of which it can hardly be necessary to bring examples to any reader versed in controversy. The argument of Optatus, grounded upon Scripture testimony, denies at once the possibility of any national Church being exclusively the true one, and those over the world that are in communion being false. Secondly, this reasoning strikes as much at the theory of the Tracts, and other High Church writings, which would fain have us consider the Church of Christ as an aggregate of many Churches, holding, indeed, different opinions and practices, and not actively communicating together, so that the Anglican Church may be called "that branch of Christ's Church which is established amongst us," and the Church of Rome is allowed to be a portion (though a corrupt one) of the same Church of Christ. This system is directly at variance with the arguments of St. Optatus: "Restat ut uno loco sit." He does not imagine the possibility of Donatists being considered a part of the true Church: if *they* constitute it, the rest of the world is excluded—if Spain, Gaul, and Italy, which are in mutual communion, Donatist Africa is shut out from the pale.

St. Augustine's reasoning on this subject is precisely the same. We think it needless to quote passages from him, where he maintains the universality of the Church, and that only that can be the true Church which is dispersed over the whole earth: because it would be difficult to read many pages of his writings against the Donatists without meeting a commentary on one of these or similar passages: "In thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed;" "I will give thee the nations for thine inheritance," &c.; "He shall rule from sea to sea, and from the river to the bounds of the earth."

Upon these texts he insists against Parmenianus, against Petilianus, and against Cresconius, as sufficient to prove that the Churches in communion must be true, to the exclusion of all that stand in separation

from them. However, the texts which we shall have occasion to quote will put the sentiments of this most learned Doctor beyond all question. In fact, we must now see the pleas whereby the Donatists justified their state of separation from communion with the rest of the world; and we shall see how exactly they resemble those of Protestants, and how they were met by this great Father.

1. They argued that the corruptions of the Church were such as rendered it impossible for them to keep in communion with it. This was the common plea of all schismatics. St. Jerome tells us that a Luciferian, disputing with a Catholic, "asserted that the entire world belonged to the devil, and, as it is their wont to say, that the Church was become a house of wickedness."* Parmenianus in like manner affirmed, "that the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Italians and their friends, by whom he must understand the entire world, resembled the African traditors by participation in their crimes and companionship in their guilt."† "Hence," he concluded, "that the whole world had been contaminated by the crime of surrendering the sacred books, and other sacrileges."‡ This language resembles not a little that of the *Book of Homilies*, regarding the corruptions of the Church before the Reformation.

But the resemblance between the ancient and modern schism is, on this point, still stronger. The Donatists went on to say that there came at that time godly men, who bore witness against the prevarications

* "Asserebat quippe [Luciferianus] universum mundum esse diaboli et, ut jam familiare est ipsis dicere, factum de Ecclesia lupanar." Dialog. adv. Lucifer. cap. 1, tom ii. p. 173, ed. Vallars.

† "Gallos, et Hispanos, et Italos, et eorum socios (quos ubique totum orbem vult intelligi) traditoribus Africanis commercio scelerum, et societate criminum dicit esse consimilem." August. cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. ii.

‡ "Dicit Parmenianus hinc probari consceleratum fuisse orbem terrarum criminibus traditionis, et aliorum sacrilegiorum." Ibid. cap. iii.

of the Church, and urged those certain provinces to purge out the foul abuses that had crept in, and to separate themselves from those among them that adhered to them, and consequently from those foreign Churches who kept communion with these. "Dicit enim legatione functos quosdam, sicut ipse asserit, fidelissimos testes ad easdem venisse provincias, deinde geminato adventu sanctissimorum, sicut ipse dicit, Domini sacerdotum, dilucide, plenius ac verius publicata esse quæ objiciunt."* "Frustra dicit Parmenianus 'damnatos in Africa traditores in consortium damnationis acceptos a provinciis transmarinis.'"† Now, the answer which the Fathers make to this excuse for separation, is such exactly as we make, and is perfectly applicable to the case between us and the Anglican Church. They put against it at once the promises of Scripture, that the universality of God's Church should never fail, and made it a question between the authority of God and of men, whether those promises could fail, or not rather the testimony of men be false. "Homo putans sibi magis credi debere quam Deo," St. Augustine calls the man who makes that argument." "Quid, quæso te," he asks, "quid per ipsos fideles testes quos vultis Deo esse fideliores, quid publicatum est? An quia, per Afros traditores, semen Abrahæ quod est Christus, non est permissum venire usque ad omnes gentes, et ibi exaruit quo pervenit? Dicite jam magis collegis vestris credendum esse quam testamento Dei."‡

* "He says that most faithful witnesses, as he calls them, acted as ambassadors to those provinces, then by the repeated arrival of most holy priests of the Lord, as he says, these things which they object were clearly, more fully and truly published." Ibid. c. ii. The first witnesses may represent the foreign Reformers; the second class corresponds to Cranmer, Ridley, &c.

† "In vain does Parmenianus say that the traditors condemned in Africa, were received into fellowship of condemnation by the provinces beyond the seas." Ibid. cap. iv.

‡ "A man who thinks he ought to be believed rather than God." "What, I ask you, what was published by these faithful witnesses, whom you make more worthy of credit than God Himself? That, through the African traditors, the seed of Abraham, which is Christ,

We would willingly extract the entire paragraph, which is most apposite and conclusive for our case. St. Jerome makes use of a similar argument from the Scripture promises. "If Christ has not a Church, or has it only in Sardinia, He has become too poor; and if Satan possess Britain, the Gauls, the people of India and barbarous nations, and the entire world, how have the trophies of the Cross been bestowed upon one corner of the whole earth?"*

But the reasoning of the Fathers is sometimes closer and more to our purpose even than this. They propose to the Donatists the same dilemma as we, in our controversy, do to Protestants. Either the Church was so corrupted before your Reformers came that it had ceased to be the Church of God, or not. If it was, then had Christ's promises failed, which secured perpetuity to his Church; if not, whence did those who separated from it derive their authority for this purpose, or how could any act or teaching of theirs make it cease to be what it was before?

The following passage of St. Augustine is to this effect: "Quod si erat etiam tunc Ecclesia, et hæreditas Christi non, interrupta, perierat, sed per omnes gentes argumenta accipiens permanebat, tutissima ratio est in eadem consuetudine permanere quæ tunc bonos et malos in una complexione portabat. Si autem tunc non erat Ecclesia, quia sacrilegi hæretici sine baptismo recipiebantur, et hoc universali consuetudine tenebatur; unde Donatus apparuit? de qua terra germinavit? de quo mari emersit? de quo cœlo cecidit? Nos itaque, ut dicere cœperam, in ejus Ecclesiæ communione securi sumus, per cujus universitatem id nunc agitur quod est

was not permitted to come to all nations, and was dried up where it had reached? Say at once, that we must believe your colleagues more than God's Testament." Ibid. cap. ii.

* "Si ecclesiam non habet Christus, aut in Sardinia tantum habet, nimium pauper factus est. Et si Britannias, Gallias, Indorum populos, barbaras nationes, et totum semel [simul] mundum possideat Satanas, quomodo ad angulum universae terræ Crucis trophæa collata sunt?" Ubi sup. no. 15, p. 186.

ante Agrippinum, et inter Agrippinum et Cyprianum per ejus universitatem similiter agebatur."* Here, then, it is taken for granted that the very fact of any practice being followed or tolerated in the Church is a sufficient vindication of it; and that, whenever a separation takes place from the body of the Church on the ground of such being corruptions, those are safe who adhere to the portion that perseveres in those practices, while the pretended reformers are at once to be rejected, as having no mission or commission for their schismatical undertakings.

The same Father uses the same argument on other occasions. For instance, in his treatise "De unico Baptismo," where he writes as follows:—"If that be true which these men assert, and by which they endeavour to maintain or excuse the cause of their separation, namely, that the fellowship of the wicked in the same sacraments defiles the good, and that, therefore, we must separate ourselves bodily from the contagion of the evil, lest all should together perish;† it clearly follows that at the time of Stephen and Cyprian the Church had perished, nor was any left to posterity, in which Donatus himself could be spiritually born. But if they consider it impious to say this—as in truth, it *is* impious—then, as the Church remained from these

* "But if the Church then was, and Christ's inheritance had not perished by being interrupted, but, receiving increase through all nations, yet endured, it is the safest principle to persevere in the same practice which then united in one embrace the good and the evil. But if at that time there was no Church, because sacrilegious heretics were received without [repetition of] baptism, and this was the universal practice, whence did Donatus make his appearance? from what earth did he spring up? from what sea did he emerge? from what heavens did he fall? We, therefore, as I had begun to say, are secure in the communion of that Church, through the entire of which that is now practised, which, in like manner, was practised through it entire before Agrippinus, and between Agrippinus and Cyprian." De Baptismo cont. Donatistas. lib. iii. cap. 2.

† How often do we see and hear applied to those in communion with the Catholic Church, those words, "Go out from her, my people, that you be not partakers of her sins, and that you receive not of her plagues." Rev. xviii. 4.

times to the times of Cæcilianus and Majorinus, or of Donatus, . . . so could the Church remain after this latter period, which, increasing through the entire world, as had been foretold of her, the particular crimes of any traditors or other wicked men could not defile. . . There was no reason, therefore, but it was an act of the greatest madness, for these men, as if to avoid the communion of the wicked, to have separated themselves from the unity of the Church, diffused over the entire world."*

These passages hardly require any comment; any reader of ordinary judgment will see how St. Augustine must, upon his principles, have judged the case of the English Church, if it put in the plea of justification, which the great body of its defenders do, that the absolute corruptions of the foreign Churches with which it had before been in communion, as well as of those at home who resolved upon keeping up that communion, made it imperative on her to refuse communion without their reformation. For he takes it for granted; first, that before such a call on them was made, these aggregated Churches constituted the true unfailing Church of Christ; secondly, that if a particular Church, such as the African or the British, called upon them to make changes, or by making such, separated itself actually or virtually from their communion, they could not thereby lose their prerogative, but remained

* "Si ergo verum est quod isti dicunt, et unde causam suæ separationis asserere vel excusare conantur, in una communione sacramentorum mali maculant bonos, et ideo corporali disjunctione a malorum contagione recedendum est ne omnes pariter pereant; jam tunc Stephani et Cypriani temporibus constat periisse Ecclesiam, nec posteris derelictam, ubi Donatus spiritualiter nasceretur. Quod si dicere nefarium judicant, quia revera nefarium est, sicut mansit Ecclesia ex illis temporibus usque ad tempora Cæciliani et Majorini, sive Donati, . . . . . sic potuit et deinceps Ecclesia permanere, quam toto, sicut de illa prædictum est, terrarum orbe crescentem nullo modo poterant quorumlibet traditorum ac facinorosorum aliena crimina maculare. . . Nulla igitur ratio fuit, sed maximus furor, quod isti velut malorum communionem caventes, se ab unitate Christi quæ toto orbe diffunditur separarunt." De unic. Bapt. cont. Petil. c. xiv.

what they were before: thirdly, that it was safe to remain in communion with these rather than with the separating Church; fourthly, that if Cyprian (still less, if Berengarius or Huss), with some, protested against a practice, held in his time by the great body of the Church,* it could not thereby cease to be what it was before, nor could any portion of the Church plead in excuse of its separation any such decision, but such a portion at once became involved in the guilt of schism and all its entailed forfeitures.

These principles, if applied to modern controversy, will go a great way towards deciding the respective positions of the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

2. But it may perhaps be said that the case between us and Protestants is by no means so simple as that of the Donatists and the Catholics of their times, but that the decision as to a case of schism must depend upon the examination of the points of difference. Now to this we reply that by the Fathers who combated the Donatists, the question was essentially considered one of fact rather than of right; that is to say, the very circumstance of one particular Church being out of the aggregation of other Churches, constituted these judges over the other, and left no room for questioning the justice of the condemnation. St. Augustine has a golden sentence on this subject, which should be an axiom in theology: "Quapropter *securus* judicat orbis terrarum, bonos non esse qui se dividunt ab orbe terrarum, in quacumque parte orbis terrarum."† This principle he repeats in fuller terms on another occasion: "Inconcussum igitur," he writes," "firmumque teneamus, nullos bonos ab ea [Dei Ecclesia] se posse dividere; id est nullos bonos etiamsi cognitos sibi malos patiantur, ubicumque versantur, propter se a

* "Multi cum illo (Stephano) quidam cum isto (Cypriano) sentiebant." Ibid.

† "Wherefore, the entire world judges *with security* that they are not good, who separate themselves from the entire world, in whatever part of the entire world." Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. iii. cap. 3.

longe positis et incognitis bonis temerario schismatis sacrilegio separare; et in quacumque parte terrarum vel facta sunt ista, vel fiunt *vel futura sunt*, ceteris terrarum partibus longe positis, et utrum facta sint, vel cur facta sint ignorantibus, et tamen cum orbe terrarum in unitatis vinculo permanentibus, ea ipsa sit firma securitas non hoc potuisse facere, nisi aut superbiæ tumore furiosos, aut invidentiæ livore vesanos, aut sæculari commoditate corruptos, aut carnali timore perversos."*

Here then is a general rule applicable not merely to the Donatist case, but to all future possible divisions in the Church. Those cannot be possibly right who have separated themselves from the communion of distant Churches which remain still connected in the bond of unity. Whatever plea may be set up of corruptions or abuses, the true ground of separation will be one of those pointed out by the great St. Augustine. And, in truth, who does not acknowledge that the "haughty fury" of Henry VIII., the "worldly advantage" of his and his son's "corrupt"nobility, and the "carnal fear" and time-serving policy of a "perverted" heartless clergy, who had not the courage to follow More and Fisher to the scaffold, produced and promoted the first schismatical separation of England from the communion of other Churches dispersed over the world?

3. The principles thus far laid down, on the authority of the ancient Church, meet not only the reasoning of the ultra-Protestants, but also those of the High

* "Let us, therefore, hold it for an unshaken and stable principle, that no good men can separate themselves from it [the Church]: that is, that, although they may have to endure evil men known to themselves, no good men, wherever they may be, can on their own account separate, by the rash sacrilege of schism, from the good living far off and unknown to them. And in whatever part of the world this has been done, or is done, *or shall be*, while the other distant parts of the earth are ignorant that it has been done, or wherefore it has been done, and yet continue in the bond of union with the rest of the world; let this be considered quite certain, that none can have so acted, unless they had been either furious with swelling pride, or insane with livid envy, or corrupted by worldly advantage, or perverted by carnal fear." Ibid. cap. 5.

Church, or Oxford school. For they maintain that, although throughout the middle ages, the Church in communion with Rome was, in spite of her errors, the true Church, because she had not sanctioned them by any positive decree; yet she forfeited her title, and became heretical, when at the Council of Trent she did so.* Now this was precisely the argument of the Donatists, which we have seen combated by St. Augustine. They allowed that at the time of St. Cyprian the Church in communion with Pope Stephen was true and orthodox, though the same evil principles and abuses existed which they so severely reproved; but no sooner did the body of foreign Churches formally adopt and approve these malpractices, and the erroneous maxims on which they were grounded, than they fell into a state of heresy and schism. Now we have seen St. Augustine put this case, and demonstrate that either the Church failed in the first instance, and so was lost, and with it lawful sacraments and orders; or else that this could not be admitted in the second. We have seen how any one Church, in one portion of the world, could not possibly be allowed to be right, while protesting against the union of other Churches over the rest of the world. The very fact of its being in such a position at once condemns it, and proves it to be in schism. Still it may be both interesting and instructive to pursue this enquiry still further, and see this particular plea more closely examined: for it so happened that the Donatists, like the modern Anglicans, asserted that they were not the separatists, but that the other Churches were. These are their words: "Si vos tenere

* "True, Rome may be so considered [heretical] now; but she was not considered heretical in the first ages. If she has apostatized, it was at the time of the Council of Trent. . . . Accordingly, acknowledging and deploring all the errors of the middle ages, yet we need not fear to maintain that after all they were but the errors of individuals, though of large numbers of Christians." Tract xv. p. 10, where, in a note, the opinion of Gilpin is quoted with approbation, that after that epoch, "it seemed to him a matter of necessity to come out of the Church of Rome." This is perfectly the Donatist view of the case.

Catholicam dicitis, Catholicos illud est quod Græce dicitur unum sive totum. Ecce in toto non estis, quia in partem cessistis,"* To this St. Augustine on this occasion contents himself with first explaining the meaning of the term "Catholic"—to wit, that which is extended over all the world—and then by throwing ridicule on the extravagance of the assertion. "How can we be separatists," he asks, "whose communion is diffused over the entire world? But as, if you were to say to me, that I am Petilianus, I should not know how to refute you, except by laughing at you as in jest, or pitying you as insane;—I see no other course now. But as I do not think you were joking, you see what alternative remains." †

On another occasion, the same holy Father gives a decisive criterion whereby it may be determined who went forth from the Church, or who were, in other words, the violators of Catholic unity. It was not long before the Donatists split into innumerable sects—the usual consequence of departure from unity. But the account of this division is so well given by St. Augustine, and so accurately describes the vicissitudes of modern as well as of ancient schism, that we must be allowed to quote his words:—"Eadem pars Donati in multa minutissima frusta conscissa est, quæ omnes minutissimæ particulæ hanc unam multo grandiorem in qua Primianus est, de recepto Maximiniastarum baptismo reprehendunt, et singulæ conantur asserere apud se tantummodo verum baptismum remansisse, nec omnino esse alibi, neque in toto orbe terrarum, qua Ecclesia Catholica expanditur, nec in ipsa grandiore parte Donati, nec in ceteris præter se unam ex minutissimus particulis."‡ If for

* "If you say that you have the Catholic Church, καθολικος is, in Greek, 'one,' or 'whole.' Behold, you do not constitute the whole, since you have seceded apart." Cont. Liter. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 38.

† "Sed quemadmodum, si mihi diceres quod ego sim Petilianus, non invenirem quomodo refellerem, nisi, ut aut jocantem riderem, aut insanientem dolorem; hoc mihi nunc faciendum esse video; sed quia jocari te non video, vides quid restat."—Ibid.

‡ "The very sect of Donatus is divided into many very minute

the "pars Donati" we substitute the Anglican Church, what a faithful picture we have of the minute subdivisions of separation into which dissent from her has broken, every one of which denies to the others sound doctrine,—as the Donatists did baptism,—as well as to the original branch of which they are the boughs, and to the great trunk of Catholic and apostolical descent from which both it and they have been lopped off.

But to come to our point, which is, the criterion suggested by St. Augustine for determining who are the separatists and schismatics. It is this:—You have no difficulty in deciding that these different sects separated from you, and not you from them (as they pretend); because, while *primitive* Donatism is commensurate with them all, each of these prevails more in one than another province; the Rogatenses, for instance, in Cæsarean Mauritania; the Urbanenses in some parts of Numidia; and so forth. This criterion would apply to the Anglican Church. For some parishes are comparatively free from dissent; and there is no portion of England, however occupied by it, in which that Church is not found: then some sects, as the Quakers, are unknown in some districts, while they are abundant in others; different classes of Methodism, Unitarianism, or Moravianism, have their favourite districts, in which their teachers and followers more abound. And as the Anglican Church occupies all the space subdivided among them all, we justly conclude that they all went forth from it, and not it from them. In like manner, observes this learned Father, we see one heresy infest one country, and another, another; each sect has its own territory,—for where it has sprung up, there, being of its nature unprolific, it lies till it withers up.

parts, every one of which minute parts blames this much larger one, in which Primianus is, for having received the baptism of the Maximinianists; and each one endeavours to maintain that true baptism has remained in it alone, and is nowhere else, neither in the entire world, over which the Catholic Church is spread, nor in the larger sect itself of Donatus, nor in any other except itself, one of the said most minute parts." De Baptis. cont. Donatistas, lib. i. cap. ii.

But the Catholic Church occupies the whole world, taking in the very countries in which the respective sects exist, surrounding and compenetrating them, and, therefore, by parity of argument, this is proved to be the true Church, from which all they are separatists and schismatics.* This argument is at once simple and conclusive. It supposes, what is of great importance in our controversy with the Oxford divines, the possibility,—nay, the necessity—of the Church having members in countries under a schismatical hierarchy, who communicate with the rest of the Catholic world; a point on which we shall have later to speak: "Ipsa (Ecclesia) de qua præciduntur, etiam in eas terras extenditur ubi jacent illa quæque in sua regione fragmenta."

Let us, then, apply the argument to our times. We see the Lutherans occupying the northern parts of the European continent, the Calvinists Switzerland, the Presbyterians Scotland, the Anglicans England. Not one of these has a Church, properly so called,† in any other country; none in Spain,

* "Contra universitatem vero Ecclesiæ, quia te inania repetere libuit, etiam hic tibi respondeo. Sicut in Africa pars Donati vos estis, a quibus apparet partem Maximiani schisma fecisse, quoniam non est per Africam, qua vos estis, vos autem et in regionibus in quibus illa est non deestis, nam et alia schismata facta sunt ex vobis, sicut Rogatenses in Mauritania Cæsariensi, Urbanenses in quadam Numidiæ particula, et alia nonnulla, sed ubi præcisa sunt ibi remanserunt. Et hinc enim apparet eos a vobis exiisse, non vos ab ipsis, quia vos etiam in his terris ubi ipsi sunt, illi autem quaquaversus vos estis non nisi forte peregrinantes inveniuntur. Sic Ecclesia Catholica, quæ, sicut ait Cyprianus, 'ramos suos per universam terram copia ubertatis extendit,' ubique sustinet scandala eorum qui ab illa, vitio maximæ superbiæ præciduntur, aliorum hic, aliorum alibi atque alibi. . . . Ubi enim cadunt, ibi remanent, et ubi separantur ibi arescunt. *unde ipsa de qua præcidentur etiam in eas terras extenditur, ubi jacent illa in sua quæque regione fragmenta;* in illa vero, singula, quacumque distenditur, non sunt, quamvis aliquando vix rarissima folia ex eorum ariditate ventus elationis in peregrina dispergat."—Cont. Crescon. lib. iv. cap. 60.

† The small number of Protestants in France or Piedmont are not in communion with any other "fragment," but form independent sects.

or Italy, or France, or Southern Germany, or South America, or Syria, or China. "Ubi cadunt ibi remanent." But we—that is, the Church wherewith we are in communion—extend over the whole of the world, occupying extensively several of these countries, and having large bodies of Christians in others. And even where those Protestant sects prevail, congregations and numerous flocks are found communicating with the one Church spread over the world. And what we have said of Protestant countries, we may extend, as St. Augustine does, beyond the Donatists, to other heresies, as the Nestorians and Eutychians in the east. For almost wherever these are, Catholics exist; but they are not to be found, except as strangers, *nisi forte peregrinantes*, in countries entirely Catholic. We see, then, how simple and yet how efficacious is the test proposed by St. Augustine, for deciding whether the English Church be a seceder or not from Catholic unity.

At the same time we cannot forbear quoting another criterion proposed by the other Father—whom we have already copiously cited—St. Jerome. His words are strikingly applicable to our present case. We will give them in the original. "Poteram diem istiusmodi eloquio ducere, et omnes propositionum rivulos uno Ecclesiæ sole siccare. Verum quia jam multum sermocinati sumus . . . . brevem tibi apertamque animi mei sententiam proferam, in illa esse Ecclesia permanendum, quæ ab Apostolis fundata usque ad diem hanc durat. Sic ubi audieris eos qui dicuntur Christi non a Domino Jesu Christo sed a quoquam alio nuncupari, ut puta Marcionitas, Valentinianos, Montenses, seu Campitas; * scito non Ecclesiam Christi, sed Antichristi esse synagogam. Ex hoc enim ipso quod postea instituti sunt, eos se esse indicant quos futuros Apostolus prænunciavit. Nec sibi blandiantur, si de Scripturarum capitulis videntur sibi affirmare quod dicunt, cum et diabolus de Scriptura aliqua sit locutus,

* These were the names by which the Donatists of Rome were distinguished.

et Scripturæ non in legendo consistant sed in intelligendo."* Now, though this criterion will, in most special wise, apply to those sects which bear the names of men, as Lutherans, Calvinists, and Wesleyans; yet will it be found applicable no less to any, whose designation indicates a state of separation from the rest of the Church. For the new Oxford school will not easily persuade men that their Anglican Church forms no part of the great *Protestant* defection, a title which at once expresses separation from and opposition to that greater aggregation of Churches dispersed over the whole world, on which no efforts have succeeded in fixing any different title beyond that of the *Catholic*.

4. But the Donatists endeavoured to escape from the application of this test by another sophistry. You, they said, are no more universal or Catholic than we. A great part of the world is still heathen,† and much is occupied by sects which you do not admit into the pale of the Church.‡ Or rather sometimes the Donatists affected to believe that Catholics readily admitted the latter into communion with them, in order to enlarge their grounds to claim that title. To this St. Augus-

* "I could occupy the entire day with this subject, and dry up all the dribblets of (schismatical) propositions by the sun of the Church alone. But since our discourse has been long . . . I will briefly and clearly lay you down my opinion, that we must remain in that Church which, founded by the Apostles, endures unto this day. Wherever you hear those who are called Christians receive their name not from the Lord Christ Jesus, but from some one else; as, for instance, the Marcionites, Valentinians, Montenses, or Campites, know that they are not the Church of Christ, but the synagogue of Antichrist. For, from the very fact of their being of later institution, they show themselves to be those whom the Apostle foretold. Neither let them flatter themselves if they appear to prove what they say by texts of Scripture; seeing that the devil cited passages from Scripture, and Scripture consists not in the reading, but in the understanding of it." Ubi sup. *in fine*.

† "Omitto gentium barbararum proprias regiones, Persarum ritus, sidera, Chaldeorum, Egyptiorum superstitiones." Crescon. ap. Aug. cont. eumd. lib. iv. cap. 61.

‡ "Non ergo nobis communicant sicut tu dicis, Novatiani, Ariani, Patripassiani, Valentiniani," etc. Ibid.

tine replies, that heathen nations will gradually be converted, and that, to the end of the world, room will be left for the dilatation of religion, and the fulfilment of God's promises regarding the propagation of the faith. With regard to the other objection, he observes that we do not admit any who differ from us in faith into religious community; but that these, like the Donatists, are in different countries unprolific, and confined within certain limits, beyond which they have no power to spread, so as to put in a title to be considered the Church Catholic.*

We see here two important points decided; first, how the Catholicity of our Church is not hemmed in by the many unconverted nations yet remaining, inasmuch as they are rather a field on which the Catholic prerogative of propagation and fecundity is to be exercised till the end of time; and, secondly, how the Catholic Church, then, as now, sternly excluded from its communion all sects that differed from it, instead of making the Catholic Church consist, as the tract writers would desire, of the heterogeneous amalgamation of various Churches differing in doctrine, as the Greeks, Syrians, and Anglicans, with the many harmoniously united in communion with Rome.† On another occasion, we find St. Augustine answering the other form of the second of the rehearsed objections; namely, that the number of sects not in communion with those that call themselves the Catholic Church, excluded this from that

* "1. Unde necesse est, non solum fœcunditate nascentis Ecclesiæ, verum etiam permixta multitudine inimicorum ejus, per quos pietas ejus exerceri et probari posset, usque in finem judiciariæ separationis totus orbis impleatur. . . . 2. Verumtamen ubicumque sunt isti (haeretici) illic Catholica, sicut in Africa, ita et vos: non autem ubicumque Catholica est, aut vos estis aut hæresis quælibet illarum. Unde apparet quæ sit arbor ramos suos per universam terram extendens, et qui sint rami fracti non habentes vitam radicis, atque in suis cuique jacentes et arescentes locis." Ibid.

† See for example, Tract viii. p. 4, where the Churches of Rome, Holland, Scotland, Greece, and the acknowledgedly heretical churches of Asia, are enumerated as forming so many parts of the Church Catholic.

title; "Quomodo," asked Cresconius, "totus orbis communione vestra plenus est, ubi tam multæ sunt hæreses, quarum vobis nulla communicat?"* To this the saint replies as on the other occasion, tacitly acknowledging the fact of non-communion with heretics, but still maintaining the universality of the Catholic Church.

5. Only another subterfuge remains: it is, that to belong to the universal Church, it is not necessary to be in *active* intercourse and communion with the different parts that compose it; so that the Anglican Church may be a portion of Christ's Church Catholic, although it has no actual badges to show of amity and harmony with other portions of the same Church in Europe, or the East. Cresconius, the Donatist, made use of precisely this principle, which is necessary to the establishment of the system maintained on this subject by the Oxford divines: "Non communicat Oriens Africæ, nec Africa Orienti." † To this St. Augustine replies, that "with the chaff, that is out of the Lord's barn-floor, the East does not indeed communicate, but with the Catholic wheat, and with the straw that is within, the East does communicate with Africa, and Africa with the East." ‡

The Donatists seem to have wished to maintain the independence of the African Church, as requiring no direct connexion with the Churches of Asia. Hence, on another occasion, when St. Augustine had a friendly conference with Fortunius, a Donatist bishop, the question, almost at its outset, turned upon this point. The learned Father asked him, which was the Church in which one must live well—"whether that which, according to the predictions of Holy Writ, was to be

* "How is all the world full of your communion, while there are so many heresies, not one of which communicates with you?" Cont. Cresc. lib. iii. cap. 66.

† "The East does not communicate with Africa, nor does Africa with the East." Ibid. cap. 67.

‡ "Non sane sed in paleis hæreticis ab area Domini separatis: in frumentis autem catholicis et interioribus paleis omnino communicat Africæ, et Africa Orienti." Ibid.

diffused over the entire world, or that which a small part of Africa, or the Africans, contained? At first, he tried to assert that his communion was over the whole world. I asked him whether he could give letters of communion, which we called *formatæ*, whithersoever I wished; and I affirmed what was clear to all, that by this test the entire question could be brought to a close."* But the Donatist soon ran off his ground, and turned to other matters.

Now, if the courteous reader will take the trouble to turn over to the third volume of this Review (July, 1837), he will find us challenging the Anglicans to the same proof of the assertion, which they make in common with the Donatists, that they are a part, or a branch, of the Church Catholic, dispersed over the world. We took Barrow's criterions of religious unity, and showed how no prelate of the Anglican Church could safely attempt to apply them in practice to his Church.† If he sent letters of communication to any foreign bishop (except perhaps in North America), they might be answered through courtesy, but the pledge of amity would not be accepted. We can challenge them therefore to the very same proof as Augustine challenged Fortunius to; and the very fact of their not being able to submit to it would decide the question, as it did then, that they are in a state of schism. The twenty-third canon of the African code prescribes, that if any bishop travel beyond the sea, he provide himself with *literæ formatæ*, or letters of

* "Deinde quærere cœpimus, quænam illa esset ecclesia ubi vivere sic oporteret, utrum illa quæ, sicut Sancta ante Scriptura prædixerat, se terrarum orbe diffunderet, an illa quam pars exigua vel Afrorum, vel Africæ contineret. Hic primo asserere conatus est, ubique terrarum esse communionem suam. Quærebam utrum epistolas communicatorias quas formatas dicimus, posset quo vellam dare; et affirmabam, quod manifestum erat omnibus, hoc modo facillime illam terminari posse quæstionem." Epist. ad Eleus. Glor. et Fal. tom. ii., Ep. xliv. vol. clxiii. cap. 2.

† Pp. 69. sqq. The criterions proposed by Dr. Barrow are all *acts* of communion, not one of which would in practice be applicable to the English Church.

communion from his primate. This proves that an active communion was required between Churches separated by the sea, so that any bishop bearing such letters would be readily admitted into participation in all religious and ecclesiastical rites with the bishops of the country in which he might travel. Would such letters from the English primate be heeded even in Europe? How much less in China, in India, or Syria! Yet, not only the letter of a Catholic primate, but that wherewith every bishop or vicar-apostolic usually furnishes any of his clergy who have occasion to go abroad, is received with respect by every foreign bishop, and secures to its bearer all the rights of communion in belief and practice, and opens to him at once the gates of the sanctuary and the hearts of his fellow-labourers in Christ.

St. Augustine is careful to remove the impression that when he wrote to any Donatist leaders, he thereby entered into communion of faith; and thus proves to us the difference between civility and charitable intercourse, and communion in religion. "Unde factum est," he writes, "ut etiam ad nonnullos Donatistarum primarios scriberemus, *non communicatorias literas, quas jam olim*, propter suam perversitatem, *ab unitate Catholica, quæ toto orbe diffusa est, non accipiunt*, sed tales privatas qualibus nobis uti etiam ad paganos licet."*

If the case therefore of the Anglican Church had to be decided by the principles and the voice of antiquity, we do not see how any verdict but that of schism could be pronounced against it. It is in a state of separation from the aggregate of Churches dispersed over the world. It cannot make an excuse, it cannot raise a point either of fact or of right, in bar of judgment, which has not been already met by the judicious sagacity of the great supporter of the unity of the Church, when combating

* "Whence it came that we wrote to some of the chief men among the Donatists, not letters of communion, which they do not receive for a long time from the Catholic unity disposed over all the world on account of their perversity, but such private letters as it is lawful for us to send even to pagans." Ep. xliii. vol. clxii. cap. 1.

the cavils of the Donatists. But we have yet a second and most important test provided for us by antiquity, whereby we must farther prove our point before we proceed to investigate the awful consequences, in regard to apostolical succession and claims to authority, that result from this state of separation.

II. The second criterion of the true Church is closely allied to the first, though simpler in its application. According to the doctrine of the ancient Fathers, it is easy at once to ascertain who are the Church Catholic, and who are in a state of schism, by simply discovering who are in communion with the See of Rome, and who are not. This test as we just remarked, is nearly connected with the foregoing: inasmuch as, the Chair of Peter being the centre of the Catholic unity, all that communicated with it knew at once that they were in communion with the rest of the Church dispersed over the world. To have kept up an active communication with all the sees, even with all the metropolitans of the world, would have been, for each bishop, a difficult, not to say an impossible, undertaking. Nor could the faithful have easily discovered whether their own bishop preserved Catholic unity in this way. Let us then at once show the various ways in which this connection with the Apostolic See was applied to the preservation of unity and the immediate detection of schism.

1. We have seen that communion was actively kept up by the means of the *epistolæ formatæ*. No doubt on particular occasions, such as that mentioned by St. Augustine, any bishop writing to other sees would have received in reply letters of communion. But ordinarily this regular interchange of religious communion all centred in the Apostolic See. We will not here inquire whether the *formatæ* which *it* sent even to patriarchs were not of a much higher character, and contained a confirmation of their election, without which it was not admitted. We think decidedly that such was the case.* But as we have throughout this

* Pope Boniface I. informs us that Theodosius, fearing lest the

discussion desired and endeavoured to deal generously with our opponents, and have not insisted upon any point which we could waive in our argument, we are willing to act consistently in this matter too: and shall therefore suppose that the *formatæ* of the Holy See went no farther than to acknowledge religious communion with the bishops to whom they were addressed. Still, this intercourse was considered essential to the maintenance of religious unity, and its absence was a clear indication of a state of schismatical separation. We have a remarkable proof of this communication carried on by distant Churches through the medium of the Holy See, in an argument employed by St. Augustine. The Donatists, to prove that the rest of the Church had kept communion with them, asserted that the Council of Sardica had written a letter to Donatus of Carthage. To this the holy Father replies that, supposing the synod to have been orthodox, it does not follow that the Donatus mentioned was the Bishop of Carthage, as the names of the sees are not cited in the letter. He then adds, "quod hinc maxime credibile est, quod ad Carthaginis episcopum, Romano prætermisso, nunquam orientalis Catholica scriberet." *

But St. Optatus is the writer who uses this argument in the clearest manner, and proves the schism of the Donatists by the simple fact of their not communicating with the rest of the world through him who sat in the Chair of Peter. After tracing the succession of pastors from St. Peter to Siricius, he adds, "who is in fellow-

election of Nectarius to the Constantinopolitan patriarchate would be null, "habere non existimans firmitatem," because he (the Pope) had not known of it, sent a deputation of courtiers and bishops, and "formatam huic a Sede Romana dirigi depoposcit, quæ ejus sacerdotium roboraret." Ap. Constant. Epp. Rom. Pont. col. 1043.).

* "Which is the more credible because the oriental Catholic Church never wrote to the Bishop of Carthage, passing over the Bishop of Rome." Cont. Crescon. lib. iii. cap. [As a matter of fact, the letter was found in the archives, but it was from the heretical Council of Philippopolis, which claimed to be the Council of Sardica. L.R.]

ship with us, with whom the entire world is joined in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formatæ*.*

2. But this was by no means the highest ground on which communion with the see of Rome was required of all who wished to be considered within the pale of the Catholic Church. It was not for the convenience of mutual intercourse, but for the necessity of ecclesiastical unity that the Chair of Peter and his successors had been made the centre, and received the headship, of the Church. St. Ambrose, writing to the Emperors, calls the Holy City, "totius orbis Romani caput Romanam ecclesiam . . . inde enim in omnes venerandæ communionis jura dimanant."† St. Optatus, however, lays the greatest stress upon this point. Again and again he presses the charge of schism upon the Donatists, because they are separated from the Chair of Peter. Having proved that the Catholic or true Church must be diffused over the entire world, he proceeds to point out more particular marks and ornaments whereby it may be more easily distinguished. The first of these is the *Cathedra* or episcopal chair. By this it is evident that he did not mean episcopacy in general, nor the succession of bishops validly ordained, as he allows the Donatists to have possessed these. He goes on therefore to explain his meaning and apply it. "We must see," he writes, "who sat first upon the chair, and where. If you are ignorant, learn; if you know it, blush; you cannot be charged with ignorance, therefore you must know it. . . . Therefore you cannot deny that you know, that in the city of Rome, the episcopal chair was bestowed on Peter first, on which sat Peter, the head of all the apostles, whence he was called Cephas; in which *one chair* unity was to be preserved by all, lest the rest of the apostles should

* See the text quoted below.

† "The Roman Church head of the entire Roman Empire . . . . for thence flow to all the rights of venerable communion." Ep. ii. ad Grat. et Valent.

stand up each one for a separate Church; *so that he should be a schismatic and a sinner who should set up against the one chair* another."*

Before proceeding to the next words of the Father, we will indulge in one or two remarks. It is repugnant to the obvious purport of his argument to imagine, with Chillingworth or Mr. Poole, that he here speaks only of schism *within* the Roman Church, strictly so called, by the setting up of a Donatist bishop in the city of Rome, in opposition to the one in direct succession from St. Peter. For St. Optatus speaks of the Roman See as *one* and *singular*, in reference not to any rival pretensions that might be set up with it, but in reference to the sees erected by the other apostles. Unity was to be preserved in this chair, in such way as that no other *apostolic* chair was to be set up against it, without incurring the guilt of schism. What could be the motive for introducing here the mention of other apostolic sees, if the object was only to lay the basis for an argument that he was a schismatic who erected a rival throne in the same see—a proposition so evident, that it certainly required no appeal to the respective positions of Peter and the other apostles. But St. Optatus well knew that there was a twofold form of schism, one by separation from the immediate bishop, who forms the first link with each one in the chair of unity, and the other, consequent on it, by separation from the centre at which the various chains are joined together. For otherwise, what can be the meaning of his thus address-

* "Videndum est quis, et ubi prior cathedram sederit. Si ignoras, disce; si nosti, erubesce; ignorantia tibi adscribi non potest. restat ergo ut noveris . . . . Igitur negare non potes scire te in Urbe Roma, Petro primo Cathedram episcopalem esse collatam, in qua sederit omnium apostolorum caput Petrus, unde et Cephas appellatus est, in qua una cathedra unitas ab omnibus servaretur; ne ceteri apostoli singulas sibi quisque defenderent: ut jam schismaticus et peccator esset, qui contra singularem cathedram, alteram collocaret." De Schism. Donat lib. ii. cap. 2, p. 31. The learned author to whom we allude in the next page, reads *tibi* for *sibi* in the last sentence. St. Cyprian Vindicated, p. 20. We follow Dupin's edition, which gives no various reading here. Of course the sense is precisely the same.

ing Parmenianus: "Nec Cæcilianus recessit a *Cathedra Petri vel Cypriani*, sed Majorinus cujus tu cathedram sedes."* What, we ask, is the meaning of these words, unless a schism in Africa, at Carthage, was considered a separation not only from the see of that city, in which Cyprian had sat, but also from that of Rome? We therefore conclude that St. Optatus, in declaring every one a sinful schismatic who sets up a rival chair to that of Peter, spoke not of those in Rome itself, but of any who, in distant countries, established the independence of their sees.

The learned Father having thus laid the foundation of his argument, proceeds to apply it to the Donatist controversy, in the following terms: "Therefore, the one chair, which is the first of the properties [of the Church], Peter filled the first, to whom succeeded Linus; to Linus succeeded Clement. . . . [Here the saint enumerates all the pontiffs down to his time; then concludes] to Damasus, Siricius, who is now in fellowship with us, with whom the entire world is joined with us in the society of one communion, through the intercourse of *formatæ*. You give an account of the origin of your chair, you who wish to claim to be the holy Church."† It may be deemed necessary for us to reply to the cavils of the two above-named divines upon this, as we have done on the preceding part of St. Optatus's text. We are, indeed dispensed from the task, by the able manner in which we find it has been done by the Rev. F. C. Husenbeth, who, by his answer to Mr. Poole, has added another to the many claims he already possessed to the respect and gratitude of British Catholics, and has gained a new

* "Nor did Cæcilianus separate himself from the chair of Peter or Cyprian, but Majorinus did, whose see you occupy." lib. i. cap. 10, p. 10."

† "Ergo cathedram unicam, quæ est prima de dotibus sedit prior Petrus, cui successit Linus, Lino successit Clemens. . . Damaso Siricius, hodie qui noster est socius, cum quo nobiscum totus orbis, commercio, formatarum in una communionis societate concordat. Vestræ Cathedræ vos originem reddite qui vobis vultis sanctam ecclesiam vindicare." lib. ii. cap. 4, p. 32.

title to the character he so justly bears of a sound divine, a ready polemic, and a zealous ecclesiastic.* We will content ourselves, therefore, with a very few remarks.

In laying down the point which he intended to prove, that is, which Church had the marks or properties of the Catholic, St. Optatus never once intimates that he had removed the question from Africa to Rome, for it is evident that he wrote his work for the conviction of the African Donatists, and naturally selected arguments applicable to them; so his marks of the Church are such as would apply in any country. Now, after he has given the argument we have just seen from the Chair of Peter, he introduces, simply as an objection to the argument, the Donatists' assertion that they too had a Church and a chair at Rome. "But you also say," he writes, "that you have some part in the city of Rome."† Surely this is not the way in which the main argument is likely to be introduced. It is evidently nothing more than an objection which the writer thinks might be thrown in by the adversary, and which he thinks it right to remove before proceeding with the argument. Accordingly, the Father shows how little right the Donatists have to consider their African bishop resident in Rome the true representative of the Apostolic See, and then concluding that Peter, "the Prince of the Catholics" (nostrum Principem), had alone the keys given him, he proceeds with the argument on general grounds, by no means applicable to Rome alone. Yet throughout he continues to argue against the Donatist schism in general, as separated from the Chair of Peter, and thereby at once condemned: "Unde est ergo quod claves regni cœlorum vobis usurpare contenditis, qui contra cathedram Petri . . . . sacrilegio militatis?"‡

* 'St. Cyprian Vindicated against certain misrepresentations of his doctrine in a work by the Rev. G. A. Poole,' p. 64. Norwich, 1839.

† "Sed et habere vos in urbe Romæ partem aliquam dicitis." Cap. iv.

‡ "How is it that you should attempt to usurp the keys of the

Nay, he even goes farther than this. He had proposed five marks of the true Church, whereby it could be distinguished from all schismatical congregations. The first is the one we have seen, the Chair, and he concludes that this is proved to be exclusively his side's, through the Chair of Peter. "Igitur de dotibus supradictis cathedra est, ut diximus, prima, quam probavimus per Petrum nostram esse."* This surely could not be said if, as Mr. Poole supposes,† the argument was only of use against Macrobius and his miserable handful of lurking sectarians in Rome.

Then, what is still more important, St. Optatus hardly touches upon several of these marks, but contents himself with asserting that he has proved his Church to possess them, through the Chair of Peter: "et per cathedram Petri quæ nostra est, per ipsam et ceteras dotes apud nos esse."‡ By proving therefore this one point, he considered the argument as satisfactory, as if he had fully demonstrated each of the other marks to belong exclusively to his Church.

Farther, we will observe that these characteristics of the true Church were not originally proposed by St. Optatus, but by his Donatist adversary.§ Now it is not probable that he should by "cathedra" have meant the see of Rome, which they could not, without consummate impudence, pretend to claim; particularly, as we shall see that it was part of their tactics to keep the question on African ground, and decline all reference to the state of foreign Churches. In fine, we find St. Augustine employs the same argument from the succession in the Roman see,

kingdom of heaven, who are engaged in sacrilegious war against the Chair of Peter?" Cap. v.

* "Therefore of the above-rehearsed properties, the Chair is the first, which we have proved to be ours through Peter." Cap. vi.

† Ap. Husenbeth ubi sup.

‡ "And by the Chair of Peter which is ours, by it the other properties are with us." Cap. ix. p. 38.

§ "Videndum ubi sunt quinque dotes quas tu sex esse dixisti." Lib. ii. cap. ii. St. Optatus afterwards tells us which he excluded to reduce them to five; which, consequently, he admitted. Cap. viii."

where certainly there can be no room for Chillingworth's exceptions. For this Father composed a rude poem, or psalm, which might be sung by the common people of Africa (for he always speaks of other Churches under the title of transmarine) and in this he gives, as the principal evidence against the Donatists, the succession of bishops in the Chair of Peter. These are his words:

"Venite fratres, si vultis ut inseramini in vite.
Dolor est cum vos videmus præcisos ita jacere.
Numerate sacerdotes vel ab ipsa Petri sede,
Et in ordine illo Patrum quis cui successit videte.
Ipsa est petra, quam non vincunt superbæ inferorum portæ."

"Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine,
It grieves us to see you thus lie cut off.
Number the priests in the very Chair of Peter,
And see in that order of fathers who succeeded the other.
This is the rock which the proud gates of hell overcome not."
Contra partem Donati Psalmus *versus fin.*

3. It will not, therefore, be surprising to see how, in practice, this simple rule was adopted for at once ascertaining who were the Catholics and who the schismatics. St. Ambrose informs us that his brother Satyrus, not yet partaker of the sacred mysteries, being in imminent danger of shipwreck, tied the Blessed Eucharist round his neck in an *orarium* or scarf, and fearlessly committed himself to the waves. Arrived on shore, and having experienced the efficacy of this great sacrament when thus externally applied, he concluded how much more excellent its virtue must be, when actually received into the breast, and therefore ardently desired to be partaker of it. But the schism of Lucifer prevailed in that country; and therefore he resolved to be cautious how he communicated with the clergy. "He sent for the bishop, nor did he think there was any true grace save that of true faith. He asked of him whether he agreed with the Catholic bishops, that is, with the Roman Church."* Such was the simple

* "Advocavit ad se episcopum, nec ullam veram putavit, nisi veræ fidei gratiam: percontatusque ex eo est, utrumnam cum Episcopis Catholicis, hoc est cum Romana Ecclesia conveniret."—De obitu Satyri fratris.

test which one, not yet initiated in the mysteries of Christianity, had learnt; he did not inquire into the succession of that particular Church or see, nor whether it taught all that is declared in the creeds, nor whether it was "an independent branch of the Church Catholic;" but simply whether the bishop who came to him kept, or not, communion with the Roman Church. Had Satyrus thus been cast in our days upon the shores of England or Ireland, he certainly would have rejected the ministry of the Establishment-bishops, who claim their rights upon the pretended grounds just rehearsed, and would have admitted the bishop, or vicar, or priest, who could alone have answered affirmatively to his one simple question.

Another instance of the application of this easy test, we have in the life of St. Fulgentius, written by his disciple. As he was proceeding to the deserts of Thebais, to study virtue from its celebrated anchorites, the Bishop Eulalius thus addressed him: "You do right thus to aim at perfection; but you know that without faith it is impossible to please God. The countries which you desire to visit, a perfidious dissension has separated from the communion of the B. Peter; all those monks, whose wonderful abstinence is celebrated, have not the sacrament of the altar in communion with you . . . . Return, my son, lest, for the sake of perfection of life, you incur danger of right faith."* Thus we see how, even in Egypt, communion with the see of Rome was at once a sufficient test of orthodoxy and participation in the communion of the Catholic Church. It is hardly necessary for us to cite the well-known words of St. Jerome, who by the same process, resolves the complications of a manifold schism, and decides who is right. "Hinc in tres partes divisa

* "Recta facis cupiens meliora sectari; sed scis quoniam Deo sine fide impossibile est placere. Terras ad quas pergere concupiscis a communione B. Petri perfida dissentio separavit; omnes illi monachi quorum prædicatur admirabilis abstinentia, non habent tecum altaris sacramenta communia . . . . Revertere, fili, ne vitæ melioris intuitu periculum rectæ fidei patiaris."—Apud Bolland. 1 Jan. cap. 12.

Ecclesia ad se rapere me festinat . . . . Ego interim clamito: si quis Cathedræ Petri jungitur meus est; Meletius, Vitalis, et Paulinus tibi [the pope], hærere se dicunt; possem credere si hoc unus asseret: nunc autem duo mentiuntur aut omnes."* Nay, so well understood was this rule, that Eusebius gives an instance of its application by a heathen emperor. For when Paul of Samosata had refused to obey the decree of deposition pronounced against him by the Council of Antioch, or yield his see to Domnus, the case being referred to Aurelian, he decided that he should be held the true bishop, who had letters (of communion) from the bishop of Rome.†

4. This principle, however, was not merely adopted for convenience of application as affording a rule, which rude and unenlightened minds could supply, but it was followed by the highest dignitaries of the Church on the most solemn occasions. The Council of Constantinople, under the patriarch Mennas, lays down this rule: "We follow and obey the Apostolic See; and those who are in communion with it, we hold in communion; those whom it condemns we likewise condemn." ‡ We have another remarkable declaration of John, patriarch of Constantinople who, writing to Pope Hormisdas, protests that he follows in all things the Apostolic See, and preaches all that it has decreed, and therefore hopes to be in one communion with that see, "in which is the entire and perfect solidity of the Christian religion." Should any one assert that this is said only under the circumstance of the Pope's being at that time acknow-

* "Hence the Church, divided into three parts, strives to drag me, each to itself . . . . In the meantime, I cry out, if any one is joined to the Chair of Peter, he is mine. Meletius, Vitalis, and Paulinus say that they cleave to you. I might believe it, if one said it; but now two of them, or all three, speak untruly." Epis. tom. iv. 13. ed. Maur.

† Ap. Euseb. H.E. lib. vii. cap. 30.

‡ Ἡμεῖς γὰρ . . . τῷ ἀποστολικῷ θρόνῳ ἑξακολου θοῦμεν τε, καὶ πειθόμεθα, καὶ τοὺς κοινωνικοὺς αὐτοῦ κοινωνικοὺς ἔχομεν, καὶ τοὺσὺπ' αὐτοῦ κατακριθέντας καὶ ἡμεῖς κατακρίνομεν. Labbe Conc. tom. v. col. 92.

ledged orthodox by the rest of the Church, and does not contain the maintenance of a principle applicable to all possible cases, we beg him to attend to the words which immediately follow: "Promising for the future, that whoever are separated from the communion of the Catholic Church, *that is who consent not in all things with the Apostolic See*, their names shall not be recited in the sacred mysteries," the ordinary mark of communion.* This at once excludes all idea of the possibility of the See of Rome, or those in unity with it, being considered heretics or schismatics, as the *Tracts for the Times*, professing to deliver the doctrines of antiquity, would pretend is now the case. As we are treating of this great Pope, we cannot help turning the reader's attention to another letter, from the bishop of Nicopolis to him, in which he holds even stronger language. But as it refers more to the jurisdiction of the pontiffs over the entire world, and to their infallible authority in teaching than to the necessity of union with them, we will only refer to it in general terms.† St. Gregory the Great has preserved the formulary signed by bishops reclaimed from schism, "I a bishop. . . . willingly and spontaneously have, by the divine grace, returned to the unity of the Apostolic See; and . . . I pledge myself, under pain of forfeiture of my order, and under the penalty of anathema I promise to thee, and through thee to St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and to his vicar, the blessed Gregory, or his successors, never to return to the schism . . . . but always to remain in the unity of the holy Catholic Church, and the communion of the Roman Pontiff."‡

* "In qua est integra Christianæ religionis, et perfecta soliditas. . . . Promittentes in sequenti tempore, sequestratos a communione Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, id est in omnibus non consentientes Sedi Apostolicæ, eorum nomina inter sacra non esse recitanda mysteria." Ibid. tom. iv. col. 1487.

† Ibid. col. 1438.

‡ "Ego episcopus. . . . prona et spontanea voluntate ad unitatem Sedis Apostolicæ, divina gratia duce, reversus sum. . . . Et sub mei ordinis casu spondeo, et anathematis obligatione, atque promitto tibi, et per te S. Petri Apostolorum Principi, atque ejus Vicario Beatissi-

We have thus seen the two grounds on which the ancient Church mainly supported an accusation of schism; the two rules which it gave to the faithful for deciding when they were to continue in communion with a body of Christians, however great and however national, who claimed their obedience or their communion. They had not to perplex themselves with doctrinal points, or controversial subtleties—they had simply to ascertain, *first*, whether or no these were held in communion by the rest of the Church, that is by the aggregate of Churches dispersed over the world; and *secondly*, whether they adhered to the Apostolic Roman See. Wherever they found these two conditions verified, there they were to join themselves: wherever they existed not, there was schism, and they were to have no part with those that formed it.* Now let us apply these two tests to the Anglican Church. In our first article above referred to, we proved that it can show no communion with the rest of the Christian episcopal world, even taking those criterions of that communion which its own approved divines have laid down. And as to the second condition, that of communion with the Roman See, we think there can be no hesitation what to decide, inasmuch as, by a formal act, the English Church, in 1534, disavowed all dependence upon it, and from that moment ceased to communicate with it. Certain it is, that *de facto* that Church has, since that time (excepting the reign of Mary), held no unity or communication with either Rome or the rest of the Catholic world. And this has nothing to do with the question of doctrine, or any

mo Gregorio, vel successoribus ipsius, ad schisma . . . . . nunquam reversurum, sed semper me in unitate S. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ et communione Romani Pontificis permansurum." S. Gregorii M. Opera, tom. ii. p. 1300, ed. Maur.

* There is an interesting passage in St. Augustine, too long to quote (Cont. Lit. Petil. lib. ii. cap 125), in which he unites the two criterions of the Roman and the universal Church's communion, observing that the Church founded upon a rock, is not by reason of this foundation confined to one place, but is spread all over the world.

inquiry as to whether the body of the Catholic Church deviated from true faith at Trent, and rendered it imperative then to separate from it; an idea, however, incompatible with what we have already seen above, and much that we could add. For the separation from unity took place before this, and had no reference to doctrine, farther than the exclusion of the supremacy on Scriptural grounds.* The Anglican Church, therefore, spontaneously constituted itself in a state of schism.

At the outset of this article, we assumed, as a point on which our principal adversaries would agree with us, that a Church, or portion of a Church, thus constituted in schism, however valid its ordination, could have no part in the apostolical succession. For the satisfaction, however, of such readers as may not be so well versed in ecclesiastical antiquities, we will now say a few words on the subject.

1. Schism is pronounced by the Fathers a dreadful sin, whether in a Church or in individuals who knowingly persevere in it. St. Augustine thus writes of it. "Quod autem vos a totius orbis communione separatos videmus (quod scelus et maximum, et manifestum, et omnium vestrum est) si exaggerare velim, tempus me citius quam verba deficient."† On another occasion he calls it "sacrilegium schismatis quod omnia scelera supergraditur."‡ St. Fulgentius, in the strongest terms, excludes all schismatics from eternal salvation.§

* See *Dublin Review*, vol. v. p. 298, note. "No event in the history of England is marked by circumstances so peculiar as those which attended *the separation of the national Church from the Romish communion.*" (*British Critic*, no. xliv., Oct., 1837, p. 300.)

† "That you should be found separated from the communion of the entire world (which is a wickedness most grievous, manifest, and chargeable on you all), if I wished to show its aggravation, time would fail me before words." Cont. Lit. Petil. lib. ii. cap. 8.

‡ The sacrilege of schism which transcends all crimes." Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. ii. cap. 4.

§ "Firmissime tene et nullatenus dubites hæreticos atque schismaticos, qui extra Ecclesiam Catholicam præsentem finiunt

2. Farther, they do not admit a possible case that can justify such separation: as they consider the evil done to the Church by schism sufficient to counterbalance any imaginary good to be gained, and equal to any real or imaginary evil to be thereby avoided. St. Irenæus says that such persons swallow a camel while they strain at a gnat, "for no correction can be made by them equal to the bane of schism."* St. Augustine, speaking of converts made by the Donatists from heathenism, employs this severe language: "Itaque illos quos sanant a vulnere idolatriæ, gravius feriunt vulnere schismatis."† We refrain from farther quotations, which we could multiply to any extent.

3. Though the valid exercise of the sacramental power was allowed to such schismatics as preserved the lawful forms, yet its legitimate exercise was never acknowledged. St. Augustine makes the distinction respecting baptism: "Item alia duo dicimus, esse apud Donatistas, baptismum, non autem illic reste accipi."‡ And, on another occasion, he says of the same sacrament, that, in his opinion, when given under certain circumstances (not then cleared up by a General Council), the sacrament would be valid, but "not profitable to life eternal, so long as they remained separated from the Catholic Church."§ Now, the same Father repeatedly compares the sacrament of orders with that of baptism, illustrating the latter from the former: so that

vitam, in ignem æternum ituros." De Fide ad Pet. Biblioth. Vet. Par. tom. ix. p. 82, ed. Paris.

* "Nulla enim ab eis potest fieri tanta correctio, quanta est schismatis pernicies." lib. iv. cap. 33.

† "Therefore those whom they cure of the wound of idolatry, they more grievously strike with the wound of schism." De Baptismo cont. Donat. lib. i. cap. 8.

‡ "Likewise two other things we say are among the Donatists; baptism, but that it is not there rightly received." Ibid. cap. 3. He had just said that in the Catholic Church, "et esse baptismum, et illic tantum recte accipi."

§ "Quanquam eis ad vitam æternam non prodesset, si charitate caruissent qua Catholicæ insererentur Ecclesiæ." Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 53.

the same distinction between validity and lawfulness of exercise must be admitted. For instance, "Nam sicut redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent baptizati sunt, non rebaptizantur; ita redeuntes, qui priusquam recederent ordinati sunt, non utique rursus ordinantur, sed aut administrant quod administrabant, si hoc Ecclesiæ utilitas postulat, aut si non administrant, *Sacramentum* ordinationis tamen gerunt . . . Nam neque *Sacramentum* baptismi, nec *Sacramentum dandi Baptismi* . . . . Felicianus amisit."* Ordination, here pronounced a sacrament (contrary to the doctrine of the Anglican Church), is put on the same footing with baptism, in reference to the effects exercised on it by schism, and therefore, however validly, cannot be lawfully or profitably conferred in a Church separated from the unity of faith and religious communion. There is another passage, still more beautiful, that illustrates the doctrine of baptism by that of order and other sacraments, which we cannot forbear quoting, on account of its likewise contradicting the Anglican, and confirming the Catholic, doctrine of the sacraments. It is the following: "Si ergo ad hoc valet quod dictum est in Evangelio, 'Deus peccatorem non audit,' ut per peccatorum *sacramenta* non celebrentur; quomodo exaudit homicidam deprecantem vel super aquam baptismi, vel super oleum, vel super Eucharistiam, vel super capita eorum quibus manus imponitur? Quæ omnia tamen et fiunt et valent etiam per homicidas . . . etiam in ipsa intus Ecclesia. 'Cum nemo dare possit quod non habet,' *quomodo dat homicida Spiritum Sanctum?*" † The distinction, therefore, holds good be-

* "For, as those that return, who before they separated had been baptized, are not rebaptized, so they that return, who before they separated had been ordained, are not again ordained, but either resume the ministry they had before, if the service of the Church require it, or if they minister not, yet bear the *sacrament* of orders. For neither the sacrament of baptism, nor *the sacrament of giving baptism*, did Felicianus . . . . lose." Ibid. lib. vii. cap. 2.

† "If therefore, what is said in the Gospel that 'God hears not sinners' have this force, that *a sacrament* cannot be conferred by a sinner, how does he hear a murderer" [one devoid of charity, as

tween the valid and the lawful exercise and bestowing of orders; so that the former may exist in a schismatical Church; the latter *never can*.

4. Hence, St. Augustine has no hesitation in addressing the following strong language to the Donatist bishops: "If you ask me by what fruits we know you to be rather ravenous wolves, I object to you the crime of schism, which you will deny, but I will instantly prove; for you do not communicate with other nations, and with the Churches founded by the labour of the Apostles." *

5. In fine, upon the return of any Donatist bishop to the unity of faith, the Church sufficiently showed how far it was from admitting any right in him to a place in the apostolical succession. The third Council of Carthage, in 397, decreed as follows: *first*, that what had been decreed in preceding councils be confirmed, "ne quis Donatistarum cum honore suo recipiatur sed in numero laicorum;" *secondly*, that an exception be made in favour of those who had never rebaptised, or who came over to the Catholic communion with their flocks; *thirdly*, it was deemed advisable that the decree should not be finally confirmed till the judgment of the transmarine or Italian Church had been obtained. †

the Father explains it | "praying either over the water of baptism, or over the oil (confirmation) or over the Eucharist, or over the heads of those on whom he lays hands (orders)? All which, however, are done, and are validly done even by murderers . . . even within the Church itself. Since no one can give that which he has not, *how can a murderer give the Holy Ghost?*" Ibid. lib. v. cap. 20. From which we draw two conclusions opposed to the doctrines of the *Tracts*, first, that order, as well as confirmation, is a true sacrament, that gives the Holy Ghost; secondly, that it has a form of words, and does not differ from the true sacrament, by consisting only in the imposition of hands. Cf. Tract No. 1, p. 3. v. 10; and Dr. Pusey's Lett. Tr., vol. iii. p. 11.

* "Si autem a me quæras quibus fructibus vos potius esse lupos rapaces cognoscamus, objicio schismatis crimen, quod tu negabis, ego autem statim probabo; neque enim communicas omnibus gentibus, et illis ecclesiis apostolico labore fundatis." Cont. Litteras Peti. lib. ii. cap 16.

† Labbe, tom. iii. col. 1181. St. Augustine thus speaks of this

This was similar treatment to that of the Meletians and Novatians, mentioned in our former articles.

The voice of antiquity is therefore clear and loud upon the claims to apostolical succession of any Church involved in schism, that is, which is not in communion with other Churches, and especially with that of Rome. Implicated in a crime which no possible circumstances can justify; exercising their functions, even when validly, still without profit to the souls of men; styled wolves rather than shepherds; admitted into the Church only as laymen,—can bishops so characterized have been considered by the ancient Church descendants and representatives of the apostles?

Our argument ought naturally to close here; but the lessons furnished us by the Donatist schism are not ended. We will therefore beg our readers' farther indulgence for several remarkable points of resemblance, not yet noted, between the former schism and that which unfortunately separates our country from the Universal Church.

1. It is singular that, in process of time, there sprang up among the Donatists a High Church party, the most distinguished of whom seems to have been Ticonius. He saw the absurdity of excluding the numerous Churches dispersed all over the world from the pale of Christ's true Church, one of whose principal attributes he perceived was universality. This Ticonius demonstrated with great learning and acuteness; but remained blind to the natural consequences to be drawn from his views, namely, that his own Church was schismatical, and that it was his individual duty to abandon it, and become a Catholic. His fellow-churchmen, however, saw this; they were aware that his

matter acknowledging the validity of Donatists' orders,—not because hands are imposed, which the theory of the Tracts requires, but because a proper *form* of words was used. "Et de episcopis quidem vel clericis recipiendis, alia quæstio est. Quamvis enim, cum apud vos ordinantur, non super eos invocetur nomen Donati sed Dei, tamen ita suscipiuntur ut videtur paci et utilitati Ecclesiæ convenire." Cont. Cresconium Grammat. lib. i. cap. 11.

* Vol v. p. 289.

principles, pushed to their legitimate consequences, would necessarily lead to the abandoning of *Africanism*, the embracing of Catholicity. Parmenianus was the champion who undertook to chastise the audacity of this reformer; and not content with writing a letter or pamphlet against him, he had him condemned by a council of his Church. Parmenianus seriously warns him of the danger of maintaining, as he did, that foreign Churches in communion with Rome formed part of the true Church of Christ. The Catholics, however, were not slow to step in between the disputants; and giving due commendation to the learning and good intentions of Ticonius, took proper advantage of the truth he had discovered. St. Augustine placed the shield of his vast genius over him, and defends him against Parmenianus.*

2. The High Church divines in England maintain that the Irish and English Catholics are schismatics, because they "separate themselves from the Anglican Church, and make congregations contrary to their canonical bishops."† The answer to the assertion resolves itself into the inquiry whether one is bound to prefer the communion of the Universal Church out of one's own country, to that of bishops in it (all questions of doctrine being left aside) who are not in that communion. This is a case particularly applicable to Portugal at this moment, as it was to England at the time of the Reformation, more than now. St. Augustine seems to have had no doubt on the subject. He observes that Ticonius did not perceive the true consequence of his own principles;—but we must give the holy Father's own words: "Non vidit quod consequenter videndum fuit, illos videlicet in Africa Christianos pertinere ad Ecclesiam toto orbi diffusam, qui utique non istis ab ejusdem orbis communione atque unitate sejunctis, sed ipsi orbi terrarum per communionem connectererentur. Parmenianus autem

* Cont. Epist. Parmen. lib. i. cap. 1.

† *British Critic*, No. x. 7. p. 435. *Dub. Rev.* vol. iii. p. 73.

cæterique Donatistæ viderunt hoc esse consequens."* It is therefore our duty to preserve communion with the general Catholic Church, rather than with the particular Church of our country, when that has separated itself from that communion.

3. The writers in the *Tracts for the Times*, seeing how the argument which they make against English Catholics can be well retorted against French Protestants, are anxious not to introduce into the controversy at home the question of foreign Catholics and separatists from them.† We observe a similar solicitude in the Donatists of old. Emeritus, one of their bishops, thus expresses this feeling at the conference of Carthage: "Intelligit præstantia tua nihil nobis de peregrinis, nihil nobis de longe positis præjudicare posse, cum inter Afros hoc negotium ventiletur."‡

4. The same Tracts consider the Catholic bishops as intruders, because sent where there were already bishops in quiet and legitimate possession.§ The same complaint was made by the Donatists, that the Catholics sent bishops into dioceses in their possession; which proves that the Catholics then believed themselves to have the same rights as they have later exercised. Petilianus complains that, in the diocese of Milevis, they had erected three new bishoprics, and that in his own, Delphinus had been appointed in opposition.‖ At the same time, the Catholics severely reproved the Dona-

* "He did not see, what as a consequence he should have seen, that those Christians in Africa belonged to the Church spread over the whole world, who, indeed, were not connected with those who were separated from the communion and unity of that world, but were united by communion with the world itself. Parmenianus and the other Donatists saw this consequence." Ibid.

† Tract iv. p. 6. "Neither do we desire to pass any sentence upon persons of other countries."

‡ "Your Excellency understands that nothing from strangers, nothing from persons living far off, can prejudice us, since this cause is between Africans." Gesta Collat. Dies 3. no. 99. ad Calc. op. S. Opt.

§ Tract 35.

‖ Gesta Collat. Dies 1 ubi sup. p. 258.

tists for appointing one of their bishops to a see where there was already one in communion with the rest of the church beyond the seas.* This will apply to the Protestant hierarchy, as the former principle will to the English. In the canonical code of the African Church, we have a decree of a provincial council that, dating from a certain period, the Catholic bishops had to claim jurisdiction over the dioceses held by the Donatists, whether converted to unity or not.† This shows in how little esteem was held a bishop's authority, who communicated not with the rest of the church.

5. We have been struck how the Donatists, while they did not relish this name, had no objection to the national appellation of *Africans*—the *African Church*—which is consequently often applied to their party by the Fathers, without any offensive meaning: at the same time that the latter gloried in bearing no other appellation but that of *Catholic*. In like manner, the denomination Anglican is assumed by our High Churchmen, and we willingly accord it: at the same time, *we* repudiate every designation save that of *Catholic*.

6. In fine, as from the great Donatist church we have seen how many dissenting sects sprang up, and have therein traced no small resemblance to the fate of the Anglican, so have we a counterpart to our conduct towards this, in the conduct of the Fathers towards the former. For the great body of the Donatists immediately treated those separatists as schismatics, and severely denounced against them the penalties of schism, precisely as the Tract-writers deal with dissenters from the Anglican church.‡ St. Augustine thus retorts upon the Donatists what they said of their separatists: "Cui enim unquam schismatico suo pepercerunt, qui sibi ab orbe terrarum, cujus ipsi schismatici sunt, nimis impudenter parci volunt? cum a vera sola ipsa unitate

* St. Aug. contra Epist. Parmen. lib. 1. cap. 3.

† Integer Codex Canonum Eccl. Afric. ap. Labbe, t. iii. col. 1116.

‡ See Tracts ii. p. 3, iv. p. 5; and xxix.

justissime schismata puniantur, si eo modo ista puni-enda sunt."* This is a severe retort, but not more severe than we have a right to make in our days. The Council of Carthage, seeing the advantage which this argument gave the Catholics, decreed that envoys should be sent among the Donatists, expressly to inculcate it; since "by it is demonstrated, if they will but attend to it, that it was as wicked for them to be then cut off from the unity of the Church, as they now cry out that it was wicked in the Maximianists to make a schism from them."† For Maximianists, read Wesleyans or Quakers, and you have an exact answer to the complaints in the *Tracts*.

On another occasion, writing to some Donatists, he bids them contrast the great body of bishops from which they separated, with the small number from which *their* schismatics departed. "Multum quidem interest et incomparabiliter distat vel auctoritate vel numero Africana Ecclesia" (observe the name) "si cum ceteris orbis partibus conferatur; et longè minor est, *etiamsi unitas hic esset*, longe omnino minor est comparata ceteris Christianis omnibus gentibus, quam paro Maximiani comparata parti Primiani."‡ Here is an argument

* "For what schismatic from themselves did they ever spare,—they who too impudently wish to be spared by the entire world, from which they are schismatics? whereas, only by the true unity, schisms are most justly punished, if, indeed, they are to be punished in that manner"—that is, by appeal to the civil power, which this Father strongly blames in them. This constant eagerness for the exclusive support of the civil magistrate might have formed another point of contrast between the African and Anglican churches. Ubi sup. lib. ii. cap. 13.

† "Ubi eis demonstratur, si attendere velint, tam inique tunc illos ab Ecclesiæ unitate præcisos, quam inique nunc clamant a se Maximianistas schisma fecisse." Conc. Carthag. Africæ univ. ad Calc. S. Opt. p. 211.

‡ "There is much difference, and an incomparable distance in number or authority, between the African Church and the remaining parts of the world; and it is far smaller—*supposing unity to exist in it*—it is, indeed, far smaller, compared with all other Christian nations, than the party of Maximianus is, compared to that of Primianus." Epist. xliii. col. clxii. cap. 9.

well fashioned to our hand to be wielded at pleasure against the arrogant pretensions of the Anglican High Churchmen, when they on the one hand charge others with the mote of schism from a national church, seeing not the beam of schism from the Universal Church, which fearfully presses on their own cause. Truly, if we would but fill our quiver from the armoury of the Fathers, we should find no difficulty in piercing any mail of proof in which our adversaries may think proper to encase themselves. There is not an argument, a cavil, which they can use, that will not be found answered by anticipation, in the writings of the venerable lights of the ancient Church.

There is one view of the apostolical succession, taken by the authors of the Tracts, which we most cordially admit, because conformable to the doctrine of antiquity. It is that explained in the fifty-fourth Tract, p. 4, in these words: "How had the right interpretation of Scripture been preserved in each of those places? (Rome, Corinth, &c.) By the succession of bishops, each in turn handing over to the bishop that followed him what he had himself learned of his predecessors." Thus it appears that the apostolical succession, where it exists, is a guarantee to the faithful that the same doctrine is taught which has been taught from the beginning. Now, if we apply this test to the Anglican Church, how certainly it must fail! For it is as clear as noon-day that the bishops, after the so-called Reformation, taught the doctrine *opposite* to that of their immediate predecessors. Cranmer for instance, blasphemed Transubstantiation under Edward, which had been taught in his see till his time. Where, then, is that evidence of such succession, which perseverance in the same doctrine ought to afford?

# REAPERS FOR THE HARVEST:

A TREATISE FOR LAYMEN AND WOMEN.

BY THE

REV. T. E. BRIDGETT, C.SS.R.

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## Prefatory Letter.

Dear Fr. Bridgett,

You have bestowed much attention on the question of how best to increase the supply of vocations to the Priesthood. I hope you will give the Catholic public the result of your thought and investigation on this all-important subject. Is there any question, of such vital interest to religion, which receives so little attention from the Catholic laity as this? Yet does our Lord bid all to occupy themselves with it. The furnishing the Church with priests, with priests possessed of the necessary qualities and the increase in their number, so that the wants of the Catholic world may be supplied, is a matter placed within the power of the Catholic people. True, the vocation comes from God alone; but God has made Himself dependent in the matter of vocation, as in so many other things, upon our co-operation. In this case He

has not left us without clear instruction as to what He requires of us. We are to consider the harvest, its value, its extent, its dependence upon labourers. We are to fill our mind with the estimate of what these labourers should be, and our heart with a desire to obtain them in sufficient numbers. Here are the motives and the impulse to address continual prayer to the Lord of the harvest to send the labourers, whom we are endeavouring to enlist, into His harvest.

You will render to the Church, dear Father Bridgett, a signal service by sowing the seed of this truth broadcast over the English speaking portion of the field of Christendom. May God bless your endeavours in this apostolic work.

Your faithful and devoted servant,

HERBERT CARDINAL VAUGHAN,
*Archbishop of Westminster.*

This letter of his Eminence Cardinal Vaughan, written after he had read the following pages, enables me to dispense with apology or preface. My subject then naturally divides itself into three parts:—

I. What is the distinction between the clergy and the laity, and what are their mutual relations?

II. Whence come the clergy, and how do men become clergymen, validly and lawfully?

III. What part have those who are not clergymen, whether they are men or women, in the making of the clergy, or in their work?

# I. THE CLERGY AND THE LAITY.

1. **The Church's Constitution.** The whole Christian Church is divided into two great classes, the clergy and the laity. The clergy do not form one among several classes or professions. Clergymen are not one class, medical men a second, soldiers a third, lawyers a fourth, labourers a fifth, and so on. This may be so in the world's view; but before God and the Church, medical men, soldiers, lawyers, labourers and the rest, together with women of every class, form one portion of Christ's mystical Body, the Church. This portion is called the laity (from the Greek word *laos*, meaning people). The clergy of all ranks (so called from the Greek word *kleros*, meaning a lot or allotment), form a second portion; and these two portions make up the whole. Certain writers call this distinction a usurpation, and say that it was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. That may be so; in the false religions of the heathen the priesthood may have been a mere class or order of society, a trade or profession. But it was otherwise among the people of God. The Levites were, by origin, only one of the twelve tribes of Israel; but after their dedication by God to the service of the Tabernacle, the whole nation formed two classes, of which the Levites were one, and the rest of the tribes the other.

"Number not the tribe of Levi, neither shalt thou put down the sum of them with the children of Israel, but appoint them over the Tabernacle." "I have taken the Levites for (*i.e.*, in the place of) every first born among the children of Israel, and the Levites shall be mine: I am the Lord" (Numbers i. 49., iii. 12).

So also, from the very beginning of Christ's Church, there was a class of men set apart, by Divine institu-

tion, for the service of God and of their brethren; and this class, for reasons to be explained presently, was known from the beginning and is still known, by the name of *clergy*, and thus distinguished from the *laity*, or the rest of God's people.

It is no slight or insult to a plebeian family if a branch of it is ennobled. On the contrary, the glory of that branch redounds to the honour of the rest. We read in the sacred history that Core, Dathan, and others murmured and rebelled against Moses and Aaron, saying: "Let it be enough for you that all the multitude consisteth of holy ones, and the Lord is among them. Why lift you up yourselves above the people of the Lord?" Moses replied that the sin of ambition was not in him, but in those who, not content with the honour done them by God, wished "to challenge to themselves the priesthood also," and God confirmed his legate's words by the terrible destruction of the rebels (Numbers xvi.). At a later period Moses reminded the Israelites that they would be renowned through all nations for having the priesthood and law established amongst them. So also the whole Christian Church is honoured, not because all its members are of equal spiritual dignity or capable of the same functions, but because the priesthood of Christ is visibly perpetuated in their midst.

**2. Clergy and Spiritual Priesthood.** There is however, a sense in which the laity, both men and women, as well as the clergy of all ranks, are priests: "You are a chosen generation," wrote St. Peter, "a kingly priesthood, a holy nation, a purchased people, that you may declare His virtues Who hath called you out of darkness into His marvellous light" (1 St. Peter ii. 9). Every Christian man, woman, and child, is a priest to praise God, to offer to Him spiritual sacrifices, to make known His name by word and deed. But this universal and spiritual priesthood no more excludes a

distinct, external, and official priesthood in the Church, than the spiritual royalty, belonging to all, excludes temporal kings, or the "declaring of God's graces," which is a universal duty, excludes that public teaching in the Church in which women have no share (1 Cor. xiv. 34). St. Peter, later on in the same epistle, wrote to specially ordained men, whom he calls the "ancients or presbyters," as follows: "Feed the flock of God which is among you, taking care of it not by constraint but willingly, according to God; not for filthy lucre's sake, but voluntarily; neither as lording it over the clergy, but being made a pattern of the flock from the heart. And when the Prince of Pastors shall appear, you shall receive a never-fading crown of glory" (1 St. Peter v. 24).

It is clear from these words that the universal spiritual priesthood of which the Apostle had before spoken is subject to the pastors specially ordained, and does not encroach on their functions. In this passage the word clergy, which in the Greek has the plural form, is used in its original sense of "lots," and means, either the various ranks of the junior ecclesiastics, or more probably the various congregations of the Christian people, the pens, so to say, of the Divine sheepfold. In either case the words of St. Peter clearly mark the two elements of the Church's constitution—the sheep and the shepherds; and they imply that the authority of the shepherds, or presbyters, was so great that they needed to be warned against its abuse.

Whatever may be the sense of the word clergy, as here used by St. Peter, it is certain that, from the days of the Apostles it has been universally and exclusively applied in its present sense, to ecclesiastics as distinct from the laity. Some think the clergy were so called as being divided into several ranks or orders, or as being "allotted" to various functions. St. Jerome however, in the fourth century, writes: "They are called clerics because they belong to God's lot, or because the Lord

Himself is the lot and portion of clerics;" and so the word is now understood.

**3. Clergy and External Priesthood.** In the Christian Church the clergy are those who participate in various degrees in the priesthood of our Lord Jesus Christ. He is the great High Priest for ever. He impresses His priestly character on some who are called priests and bishops, and the other orders gradually lead up to and prepare for these. Many speak and write as if a priest was in some way less than a layman; whereas he has everything he would have as a layman and something far beyond. That "something" is a peculiar relation to Jesus Christ, the Incarnate Son of God and great High Priest.

With regard to the functions and duties of the clergy, it will be enough here to mention some of the titles given to them in Holy Scripture. In relation to men they are God's ambassadors, God's messengers (the words apostle and angel both mean messenger); they are fishermen or shepherds, sowers, planters, reapers, architects, builders. They are the light of the world and the salt of the earth. They are called bishops and prelates, *i.e.*, overseers and rulers. They are also called, according to their respective dignity, rank or function, ancients or elders (presbyters, priests), deacons, and by other names. "Being ascended above all the heavens, that He might fill all things, Christ our Lord gave some (to be) apostles and some prophets, and others evangelists and others pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the Body of Christ" (Eph. iv. 10).

It is not necessary here to explain the work of the clergy in offering sacrifice, administering the sacraments, preaching, ruling, consoling, assisting and interceding. These things are sufficiently familiar to those for whom I am writing.

**4. Distinction not Separation.** There could be no greater wrong and calumny than to attribute this distinction of state to the pride and usurpation of ecclesiastics. It is well known that priests are accustomed to assemble year after year in retreat, not to nourish pride and ambition, nor to puff themselves up by the consideration of their rights and privileges; but on the contrary to consider their duties, and how their position obliges them to a stricter account. Far from wishing to draw apart and avoid contact with the people of God, they wish to multiply the bonds of union; and the object of this little paper is to point out and strengthen some of the links that bind them together

I now pass to the second branch of my subject—whence come the clergy, and how do men become clergymen, lawfully and validly?

## II. WHENCE COME THE CLERGY?

**1. The Jewish Priesthood Hereditary.** Among the Jews the state of a clergyman was hereditary. The priests were the descendants of Aaron, the brother of Moses, of the tribe of Levi; and the whole tribe of Levi was set apart to the service of the Altar of the Tabernacle, or the Temple. When the Israelites under the guidance of Moses had been led out of the captivity of Egypt, with a great display of God's miraculous power, they most wickedly and ungratefully relapsed into the impure idolatry with which they had become familiar in Egypt; but at the call of Moses the Levites became avengers of God's honour. While their hands were still red with the blood of the idolators, Moses said, "You have consecrated your hands this day to the Lord" (Exod. xxxii. 29). Later on Phinees, the grandson of Aaron, distinguished himself by a terrible

but most righteous act of zeal, in the slaughter of some scandalous sinners, and the covenant of the priesthood was confirmed to him and to his descendants (Numb. xxv.). Such was the origin of the clergy and priesthood among the Jews. It was founded in holy wrath against sin and in the bloodshed of sinners. Even the great annual rite of the Paschal Lamb, while it spoke of mercy to the Israelites and prefigured our Divine Redeemer, commemorated the awful plague or chastisement of the death of all the first-born of Egypt by the hands of the destroying angel.

And as the origin and functions of the Jewish priesthood and clergy indicated rather God's justice than His mercy, so also its mode of transmission partook more of nature than of grace. The transmission of the priesthood and of the service of the Tabernacle was by marriage. No one from another tribe than that of Levi could obtain admission to those functions; and no competent and qualified man of the tribe of Levi could evade them.

**2. Christian Priesthood not Hereditary.** Very different is the origin and transmission of the Christian priesthood and clerical state. Every properly qualified man may aspire to the Christian priesthood, or may be enrolled in the ranks of the clergy. The priesthood is not hereditary; and this is not merely because of the celibacy of the clergy. Even were the clergy married they could not transmit their priesthood as an inheritance, though, of course their children might aspire, and be admitted, to the work and dignity of their fathers.

One great reason of this difference between the old dispensation and the new is this:—The Aaronic priesthood required only such gifts or qualifications as are the common lot of faithful men, and to be obtained by due education. Hence there was no hardship or inconvenience in obliging all the men of the tribe or

family, age after age, to perform certain functions, especially as they were well provided for in temporal matters. The Christian priesthood on the contrary is so sublime as to require gifts and virtues which are not the ordinary portion even of Christians; and it entails sacrifices such as God would not impose on a whole race, though He expects them from the more generous and heroic.

**3. Priests and the High Priest.** I have said that the Christian priesthood is a participation of our Lord's priesthood. The priest is not the successor of Jesus Christ. The Bishops of Rome or Popes are successors one to another and to St. Peter, but not to Jesus Christ. The Pope is called the Vicar of Jesus Christ, not His successor. All priests are in their degree the Vicars or lieutenants of our Lord. He is the High Priest, Who offered Himself a sacrifice on the Cross by the shedding of His Precious Blood; and in an unbloody manner at His Last Supper, in the institution of the great Eucharistic Rite, which fulfilled and abolished all former sacrifices. And it is our Lord who offers Himself in every Mass, though He does it by the hands and the mouth of a mortal man.

In this great function of the priesthood, the least and youngest priest just ordained, is equal to the venerable bishop who has ordained him; nay, even to the Sovereign Pontiff, the chief of all bishops. Therefore, our Holy Father Pope Leo XIII. in 1888 called on the whole world to celebrate with him the Jubilee, or 50th anniversary, of his simple priesthood. He considered the fact of his having been ordained priest and allowed to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass for fifty years, a matter so high, and a grace so splendid, that he invited all crowned heads and all nations to join in his joy and gratitude to God.

**4. Grace of Priesthood.** If the Christian priesthood is raised so far above the Jewish in its nature and

mode of transmission, it is also contrasted with the Jewish priesthood in the grace and clemency of its origin. I have stated that the Jewish priesthood began in the slaughter of sinners; whereas our Lord consecrated the hands of the Apostles, not in the blood of sinners, but in His own Precious Blood, about to be shed for sinners, when He instituted the most holy Sacrifice and Sacrament of the Altar. Therefore, at the present day the hands of the priest are anointed at his ordination with the holy oil, which typifies not justice, but mercy.

For functions such as those of the Christian priest, great graces are required, and great virtues may be demanded. We cannot have sinless priests, yet the candidate must be "without crime, holding the mystery of the faith in a pure conscience" (1 Tim. iii. 9). Let anyone compare the list of virtues mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistles to St. Timothy and St. Titus, with the list of bodily or physical qualities enumerated by Moses as necessary for the Jewish priest, if he would understand the difference between the two covenants.

**5. Priests, how derived.** How then may a Christian youth become a priest? To become a priest, legitimately as well as validly, two things are necessary, Vocation and Ordination. I will say a few words about each, not to instruct the candidate, for he will seek more detailed instruction elsewhere, but so far as may be useful for fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, and for all Christian men and women to possess some knowledge of a matter which concerns the glory of God and the welfare of every member of the Church.

A. *Vocation* may mean God's Providence, gradually worked out, and gradually manifested, as when we say that St. Patrick had the special vocation to be the Apostle of Ireland. It is not in this sense we speak of vocation to the priesthood. We mean God's will manifested *beforehand*, indicating the choice that a

youth should make of that special state of life, because God has chosen him to serve Him in it. When our Lord passing by the Lake of Galilee, saw Simon and Andrew casting their nets into the sea, and said to them "Come after Me and I will make you to become fishers of men" (St. Mark i. 16), that was a vocation fully manifested beforehand, though our Lord's special Providence over St. Peter and St. Andrew was only revealed subsequently, and bit by bit.

Now no man may lawfully enter the ministry of the Church unless the will of God, calling him to that ministry, is manifested to him, not indeed by the audible voice of God Incarnate, yet sufficiently to assure him that he is not led by his own interests, or ambition, or caprice, or human zeal, but that he is *obeying* a Divine vocation. To select his own ministers is God's prerogative.

The Apostle draws attention to this prerogative saying: "Neither doth any man take the honour to himself, but he that is called of God, as Aaron was; so Christ also did not glorify Himself that He might be made a High Priest, but He that said to Him 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee,' and He saith also in another place 'Thou art a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech'" (Heb. v. 4). Speaking of the ministry of the Christian Church, God said by the prophet Isaias, "I will take of them [the Gentiles] to be priests and Levites" (Is. lxvi. 21). Our Lord too reminded His Apostles, "You have not chosen Me, but I have chosen you" (St. John xv. 16). He chose His twelve Apostles after spending the night in prayer to His heavenly Father, and He afterwards spoke of them as the gift of His Father: "I have manifested Thy name to the men whom Thou hast given me out of the world. Thine they were, and to Me Thou gavest them. . . . Holy Father keep them in Thy Name whom Thou hast given Me. . . . While I was with them, I kept them in Thy

Name. . . . None of them is lost, but the son of perdition" (St. John xvii.). This son of perdition was Judas Iscariot. He had a true vocaion. He was one of those given by the Eternal Father to His Son, and was loved and watched over by Jesus Christ, because he was the gift of that Father. He became a son of perdition by his own fault and obstinacy. He threw away his vocation and his soul. He *would* be lost. Alas! if a man chosen by God may be lost even in the company of the Apostles, and of Jesus Christ, how can any one hope to save his soul, if, without being called and given by God, he intrude himself from unworthy motives, into that sacred company? Not only should youths well consider this, but their parents also. It is indeed a most holy work to develop and help forward a vocation given by God; but it is a fearful and sacrilegious invasion of God's prerogative for parents to force or persuade their sons to become priests from motives of interest; nor must they urge them to it from mistaken piety, without considering seriously whether they have a divine vocation. It is also an invasion of God's right to prevent a son from following a clear vocation given to him by God. How the existence of a vocation may be known I do not explain here.* Parents should seek the advice of a prudent priest—not indeed on the fact of their child's vocation, for that must be left of conrse to his confessor—but on their own duties with regard to him. I will explain presently how they may co-operate in a divine vocation.

B. *Ordination.* In addition to vocation, there must be ordination before a man can become a lawful minister of Jesus Christ and of His Church. When our Lord Himself appeared to St. Paul for his conversion, He sent

* There are several books in English on the subject:—I may mention especially the *Choice of a State of Life*, by Mgr. Malou, Bishop of Bruges, with a preface by Cardinal Vaughan. London, Burns and Oates.

him to learn His will from human lips and to be baptized by human hands (Acts ix.). He ever acts in conjunction with the Church which He has Himself established. We read in the same holy book, "Now there were in the Church, which was at Antioch, prophets and doctors, among whom was Barnabas and Saul. And as they were ministering to the Lord and fasting, the Holy Ghost said to them: 'Separate me Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have taken them'. Then they fasting and praying, and imposing their hands upon them sent them away" (Acts xiii.). God chose, the Church sent.

One of the seven Sacraments instituted by Jesus Christ is called the Sacrament of Order.* It is the Sacrament by which bishops, priests, and other ministers of the Church are ordained, and receive power and grace to perform their sacred duties. It is called Order, because though there are several degrees by which the candidate advances to the priesthood, yet all are ordered and tend harmoniously to one end, viz., a participation in the priesthood of Jesus Christ. The terrible warning of our Lord applies both to vocation and ordination: "Amen, amen, I say to you; he that entereth not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, the same is a thief and a robber" (St. John x. 1).

I now come to the third division of my subject.

* Sometimes called the Sacrament of Holy Orders: but more properly called Order, in the singular. In speaking of the degrees conferred by ordination, we rightly use the plural form, and distinguish the four minor orders—of Porter, Reader, Exorcist and Acolyte—from the holy or greater ones—of Sub-deacon, Deacon and Priest. The priesthood itself has two degrees of power and dignity; (1) that of the bishop, whose office it is to govern the particular district given to him (called a diocese), to give Confirmation, and confer Orders, &c.; and (2) that of priest, whose office it is to offer sacrifice, to preach, administer sacraments. &c.

## III. DUTIES OF LAYMEN.

What part have those who are not clergymen, whether they be men or women, in the making of the clergy or in their work?

To this I may answer by enumerating some of the principal duties of the laity with regard to the clergy. They must show them respect and sympathy, render them material help and active co-operation, and especially give them a large share in their prayers.

**1. Respect.** With regard to respect a very few words should be sufficient. No man can reflect with faith on the various titles given to priests, and the functions laid on them, without being moved by the highest reverence for their character and their work. I say their character, not their "cloth," according to the Protestant phrase; and by character I do not mean their personal dispositions, but the mark of the great High Priest indelibly imprinted on their souls. It is Jesus Christ Himself who is reverenced in His priests. "Let a man so account of us as of the ministers of Christ, and the dispensers of the mysteries of God" (1 Cor. iv. 1). Where this respect for the priesthood of Jesus Christ exists, the richest and noblest families will esteem it a great honour if one of their members is chosen by God for such an office, even though he occupy but an humble position in the clerical ranks; while no poor man will dare to think of raising his family in respectability or wealth by pushing a son into the priesthood without vocation.

Though respect for priests need not make us blind to personal faults or shortcomings, it should make us very silent with regard to them, except when we speak to God with hearts full of sorrow and compassion.

**2. Sympathy.** The life of a priest is often a very

lonely life, for his state is exalted and his work supernatural. By "lonely" I do not mean lacking domestic ties and little mixing in society, for this is his own choice. He has chosen a life undivided and entirely consecrated to God, without solicitude except how he may please God, and do God's work. I speak of the unsympathetic loneliness that he often experiences in doing the work of God, although he has the greatest claim on the interest of the laity, since he is working for their good and for the glory of a common Master. "Bear ye one another's burdens," writes St. Paul, "and so you shall fulfil the law of Christ" (Gal. vi. 2). The priest fulfils the law of Christ by bearing the burdens of the laity; of the ignorant when he instructs them, of the thoughtless when he reminds and entreats or reproves them, of the sad and afflicted when he consoles and relieves, of the penitent when he helps to lift the burden of their sins. God and the Church take care that he shall bear his people's burdens, for he is obliged to preach, to visit, to minister sacraments, to offer sacrifice, to intercede, aye, and to give an account of their souls. They must not then forget to bear the priest's burdens. "Obey your prelates," writes the Apostle, "and be subject to them; for they watch as being to render an account of your souls; that they may do this with joy and not with grief, for this is not expedient for you" (Heb. xiii. 17). There are generally some in every parish who positively dislike the priest because he interrupts their easy walk along the broad road that leads to destruction. There are always many to whom the priest and his work are indifferent, for they care only for the things of this world. But there are also some, and often many, who sympathize with his priestly zeal. I cannot forbear copying some of the salutations with which St. Paul concludes his epistle to the Romans. "Salute Prisca and Aquila my helpers in Christ Jesus, who have for my life laid down their own necks, to whom not I only give thanks, but also all the churches

of the Gentiles . . . . Salute Mary, who hath laboured much among you. Salute Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and fellow prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me. Salute Ampliatus, most beloved to me in the Lord," and so on through a long litany of saintly names. St. Paul writes of the "joy and refreshment" that he experienced in the company or even the memory of such men and women (Rom. xv.); and St John that he "had no greater grace than this, that his children walked in truth" (2 St. John i. 4).

3. **Help**. Sympathy will always show itself actively by rendering, according to means or opportunities, both material help and spiritual co-operation.

As regards the former, our Divine Lord had laid it down as a principle in teaching His Apostles: "Freely you have received, freely give." Spiritual things cannot be bought or sold. On the other hand He had taught that the spiritual labourer should be supported by those for whom he labours. When He sent out the seventy-two disciples, He forbade them to take purse or money, for their journey. They should seek for a house of good report, and "eat and drink such things as they have, for the labourer is worthy of his hire" (St. Luke x. 7). Not only the labourer must be maintained, but he requires material help to accomplish his various works, especially those of mercy. Hence the Acts of the Apostles show us many of the first Christians reducing themselves to poverty, and living on a common stock, in order to enable the Apostles to carry on their various labours more effectively; and no small part of the letters of St. Paul are taken up with the question of collections made for those in need. This great Apostle would accept no help from those to whom he was ministering at the time (2 Cor. xi. 8); yet he took care to vindicate his right and the rights of others. "Who serveth as a soldier

at any time at his own charges? Who planteth a vineyard and eateth not of the fruit thereof? . . . If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we reap your carnal things? . . . The Lord hath ordained that they who preach the Gospel, shall live by the Gospel" (1 Cor. ix.). "Let him that is instructed in the Word communicate to him that instructeth him in all good things" (Gal. vi. 6). Miraculous powers were seldom, if ever, used to dispense with this dependence on the justice or generosity of the Faithful; for it was in the interests of both priests and people that they should be drawn together by mutual offices of giving and receiving.

These principles are for all times, but it has belonged to the varying discipline of the Church to determine the mode and measure of lay support as well as of clerical obligations; so that at one time or place we have tithes, oblations, mortuaries; at another, dues, offertories, honoraries, stole-fees, and the rest. For my purpose, it is enough to add here that no work has a stronger claim on the laity than the education of the candidates of the priesthood, whether among the secular or the regular clergy.

Far beyond money is free and active co-operation. St. Paul speaks of the names of his fellow-labourers, both men and women, as being written in the Book of Life (Phil. iv. 3); not in a register of electors, a list of landed gentry, or a court-guide, but in God's book of life eternal! There are many ways in which, without encroaching on the functions of the clergy, the laity can take a share in their work; as in instructing children or converts, the management of confraternities, the organisation of charities, visiting the poor and the sick, labouring for the beauty of God's house, and the service of the altar and choir. It is well known how many religious orders of laymen and women devote their lives to such tasks. The first deacons were appointed to relieve the Apostles from the overwhelm-

ing burdens of charitable ministration. "Look ye out among you seven men of good reputation, full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom, whom we may appoint over this business. But we will give ourselves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word" (Acts xii. 3). And there is a "ministry" requiring neither the sacred nor the minor orders; "I commend to you Phœbe, our sister, who is in the ministry of the Church that is in Cenchre, that you receive her in the Lord as becometh saints, and that you assist her in whatsoever business she shall have need of you. For she also hath assisted many and myself also" (Rom. xvi. 1). Happy the parents who can themselves minister to the Church in this lower degree, by devoting their children to the higher ministry of prayer and preaching. Happy all those who can in any way co-operate in such a work. To foster vocations, to watch over them, to remove obstacles, to aid in their fulfilment, is one of the noblest works of zeal both for priests and laymen.

4. **Prayer.** There is a means by which all can co-operate, men, women and children, and with this I conclude. All Christians, as has been said, have a royal priesthood, and one of the great functions of this priesthood is intercessory prayer. During the holy Sacrifice of the Mass, the priest, after kissing the altar, turns to the people, saying, *Orate fratres ut meum ac vestrum sacrificium acceptabile fiat apud Deum Patrem Omnipotentem.* "Pray, brethren, that my sacrifice and yours may be acceptable to God the Almighty Father." Priest and people here unite in one common act of worship; but being separated in space they still unite in prayer one for the other. Every priest and every cleric in holy orders recites daily the Divine Office, occupying between one hour and one hour and a half of time, even when said in private; and the office is not merely an oblation of praise to God,

but also a great act of intercession for all. I have quoted many words of St. Paul in this little paper. In almost every epistle he protests that he prays for his disciples, and at the same time with the greatest emphasis he urges on them the duty of praying for himself. He writes to the Romans, "I beseech you, brethren, through our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the charity of the Holy Ghost, that you help me in your prayers for me to God, that I may be delivered from the unbelievers that are in Judea, and that the oblation of my service may be acceptable in Jerusalem to the saints" (Rom. xv. 30). He was carrying to Jerusalem a sum of money that had been collected in several places for the relief of the poor persecuted Christians of the mother-city. There were misunderstandings among some as to his position and work, and with the greatest delicacy, instead of looking on himself as a benefactor, he asks prayers that his ministry may be acceptable. Notice the motives by which he appeals to the Romans for himself and for the Christians or "saints of Jerusalem." They are exactly the same as those by which we appeal to God. "Through our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the charity of the Holy Ghost." Yes, for our Lord is not merely mediator between God and man, but also between man and man: and the Holy Ghost is the bond of union, not only between the Father and the Eternal Son in the ever-blessed Trinity, but between the souls of men on earth or in heaven.

Could not God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost, deliver St. Paul from the unbelievers, and make him acceptable to the Saints, without the prayers of the Christians of Rome? He could, doubtless; but it was His will that the Romans should have a share in these works of Divine Providence and grace. And he writes in the same spirit to the Philippians: "I know that this shall fall out to me unto salvation, *through your prayer* and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ"

(Phil. i. 19); and again to the Colossians: "Be instant in prayer, watching in it in thanksgiving; *praying withal for us* also, that God may open unto us a door of speech to speak the mystery of Christ, that I may make it manifest as I ought to speak" (Col. iv. 2). We have seen the Apostles reserving to themselves, as their peculiar appanage, "prayer and the ministry of the word;" yet here St. Paul urges on the faithful intercessory prayer that he may acquit himself well in the ministry of the word.

I could add other passages, but these are enough to show that the laity must pray for the clergy no less than the clergy for the laity. And now I must bring forward some words of our Lord Jesus Christ, which I entreat all my readers to write in their hearts, or rather to ask the Holy Spirit to write in their hearts.

We are told by St. Matthew that our Lord being moved by the desolate state of the people, turned to His disciples saying: "The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few. Pray ye, therefore, the Lord of the harvest that He send labourers into His harvest" (St. Matt. ix. 30). We must note each word:—

"*The harvest is great.*" Imagine that you stand on a hill side, and as far as the eye can reach there stretches before you a plain covered with ripe and yellow corn. It is time to reap it, and if it is not soon gathered into barns or stacked, it will perish. The grain will drop from the ears, the wind will lay low the stalks, the autumn and winter rains will fall and the harvest will rot on the ground. You note also that scattered over the plain are a few men engaged in reaping and carrying the corn, and you see with sorrow and anxiety that they are utterly insufficient to save even a tenth of this great harvest.

Such was the sight that moved our Lord's heart to compassion. He saw the multitudes then in the towns and villages of Galilee and Judea, among whom He

had been preaching. This was the special harvest that He pointed out to His Apostles: but with the eyes of His soul He saw a vaster multitude than this. He saw all the souls then living, and that would live in future time. This harvest He points out to us.

"*The Lord of the harvest.*" Now remark that this harvest has an owner. Why then does the owner allow it to perish? Why does he not send labourers, without being asked to do so by others? Here we meet again the mystery of prayer. Let us not blunder like rude and heathen minds, like those who ask what need have we of the prayers of the saints. Whether we understand it or not, it is certain that God requires the prayers of saints, aye, and of sinners too. But first let us be certain that God Himself does not look upon His harvest with unconcern. There would be no harvest had He not long ago sowed the field. And now He gazes on the corn and has compassion on it. It is not we that have to move Him from indifference. It is He that would move us. He does not wish us to stand by idly speculating on His ways, or letting our eyes wander listlessly over the ungarnered crops.

"*Pray the Lord that He send labourers.*" We may not put in our sickle ourselves without His leave. We may not hire and send labourers to reap the fields at our pleasure; for we are not the lords of the harvest. It is He that must send the labourers. If you saw a neighbour's corn in danger of perishing, you might suppose him unacquainted with agriculture, and tell him it was time to reap it. Or if he were absent from home, you could write to him on the subject. In such cases he would feel that you had his interest only in view, and he would not regard your interference as an intrusion. And though God is neither ignorant nor absent, He does not look on our prayers as an impertinence, for they are an act of obedience to Himself. By prayer we never seek to teach an ignorant, or to

move a listless God: "Cast all your care upon Him," says St. Peter, "for He hath care for you" (1 St. Pet. v. 7). Our confidence when praying for ourselves must rest in the belief in God's love for us. And so too in praying for others, far be from any Christian mind the thought that we are zealous for their salvation and that God is indifferent; that we have the love while God has the power, and that we must communicate our zeal to Him. *Rogat ut rogetur*, says St. Thomas: "God asks us to ask Him." If we would know why, it is no doubt to rouse us from indifference, to move us to charity, to increase our merit, to confer on us the honour of co-operating with God.

All cannot be labourers, all have not vocation to use the sickle, yet all may have a share in the harvest-home. Nuns and the girls they train, lay-masters and their boys, mothers and sisters, peasants and men of business, these cannot reap, but they can multiply the reapers by their prayers and sustain their zeal. St. Thomas well remarks that self-interest will send labourers to gather in their own harvest, and human efforts can provide *hands*, but God's grace alone can send *labourers* who will gather in God's harvest. Our prayers may rouse up bystanders to enlist under the Lord of the Harvest, and may even change idle hands into toilers.

Our Lord's high injunction has never been forgotten by the Church. She has never deemed it necessary to lower the standard of priestly self-sacrifice in order to recruit labourers more freely. She knows that it is God Who owns the harvest, God Who has to send the labourers, and God Who has to give the zeal, and the strength, and the skill, to the labourers.* She calls,

* An English Franciscan of the 13th century, Adam Marsh, asks: "Will the peerless Mercy and changeless Truth refuse when asked what He has bid us ask? No, the Blessed Saviour, to Whom nothing is impossible, will hear our prayers, even though, to fulfil it, it were necessary to raise up sons of Abraham from the very stones." *Monum. Francisc.* p. 447.

therefore, on her children to pray to the Lord of the harvest. This she does at all times, but particularly in the Ember days, which are the regular times of Ordination.

We have seen that with prayer and fasting the hands of the clergy were laid on Paul and Barnabas, and they were sent on their mission. The fast of the four seasons is probably of apostolic institution. It cannot be proved that at first it was in any way connected with the Sacrament of Order, but for many centuries this has been the case; and we should never let these seasons pass without adding prayer to our fasts, or it may be compensating fast by prayer; and our prayer should be then for the clergy, not only those then ordained, though for them especially; but for the Sovereign Pontiff, the cardinals, bishops, parochial clergy, missionaries and religious orders, seminarists, both theological and elementary; and for the grace of vocation to the priesthood. An excellent prayer for this purpose is the Litany of the Saints, in which so many bishops, priests and levites are invoked; or the Rosary may be appropriately said, grouping those for whom we pray into five classes, corresponding to the five decades.

May God inspire the readers of this paper to pray for the clergy, and for divine vocations to the priesthood, not merely at the Ember days, but at all Masses, Communions, Visits and Benedictions. May they make it a standing intention to pray for the clergy, living and dead, for the priests who baptized them and who have heard their confessions or instructed them, for the bishop who confirmed them; for vocations both many and urgent, and for correspondence with vocation; for young priests, for the middle aged, and for the old; for the weak and afflicted as well as for the strong and fervent. Let them remember that Jesus Christ is the great High Priest, and that prayer for priests must be

dear to His heart. Our Lady too is the mother of the High Priest and the Queen of the Apostles. The Church begs her to intercede for the clergy. May her prayers draw down a blessing on this little paper, and may she intercede for the writer, who owes it to her prayers that he has been raised from the dust and from the dunghill, to sit amid the ranks of the princes of God's people (Ps. cxii. 7).

# A Paragon of Perfection.

*Blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God.*

MRS. ELTON was an energetic little woman, who had been a governess before her marriage, and who after her husband's death, three years later, being left very poor, made up her mind to open a school at Boulogne-sur-Mer. She had an invalid sister to support as well as herself, and, fortunately for both, the undertaking turned out a success. Mrs. Elton managed her school on her own lines, and only took boarders, seldom more than eight in number. The house was large and old-fashioned, with a big garden at the back, and had the advantage of being close to the Cathedral and ramparts. Although thorough discipline was maintained, it was a very home-like establishment. Mademoiselle Deschamps was resident French governess, and masters came for drawing and other accomplishments; but

between lesson times the girls felt very much at home, and more like a family party than a school.

One autumn afternoon—it was a half holiday but rain prevented them from going out,—five of the girls were seated in the big apartment off the school-room which was usually called the girls' room: it was their especial privilege to sit there, and they felt it was their own domain.

"We needn't talk French, thank goodness," said Edith Lennox, a short plain girl, to whom the French tongue presented many difficulties in the way of pronunciation.

"And we can speak a little English," said Marie Fliot, taking out her embroidery; "that will be good for me, but not a pleasure."

"You speak it uncommonly well," said Jane Cox, a dull-looking girl, who was watching the rain; "I wish I could get on with French as well as you do with English."

"Why don't you work harder at it, as Clare Hamilton does? her accent is perfect, she has quite mastered all the idioms; copy her, my dear, and you cannot fail to be a most excellent French scholar, better even than Mademoiselle herself."

The girls all laughed heartily, for the speaker was Monica Wells, a girl of sixteen, with long fair hair down her back, and a satirical mouth, and she had imitated Mrs. Elton's voice and manner very correctly.

"How you do take her off!" said Celia Day, who had a high voice and affected manner.

"What an example for you all, what a benefit for you to be able to have such a paragon of perfection here amongst you! If you only turn out like her, I shall be thankful," continued Monica, still imitating Mrs. Elton, and then she added, "but of course I don't expect it."

"Of course not," said Jane yawning.

"There's only one Clare Hamilton," said Edith Lennox.

"I am sick of her name," said Celia; "it's everlasting, both from Mrs. Elton and Mademoiselle and everyone. Always Clare, Clare!"

"And yet she is nice," said Edith thoughtfully, as she tidied her work-box.

"Yes, of course she is, but she is spoilt by all that fuss being made over her. It is enough to turn any girl's head," said Jane.

"I have much liking for her," said Marie; "she has been so good and kind to me since I have been here."

"Oh, of course," said Monica, with a sneer. "That is her line."

"Her line—what do you mean?" asked Marie.

"Popularity, and making up to people and getting liked, and keeping well with Mrs. Elton."

"She would not do anything wrong, though, to be liked—I know that," said Edith, who remembered that Clare had refused to help her in a lesson that she was supposed to do unaided.

"No, she would not. That's because she is

pious and goody-goody. I wonder myself that we don't hate her, just because she is always held up for our admiration."

"She is worth it, that's why! Clare is *real* and that is why she influences us all, whether we like it or not."

As the words left Edith's lips, the subject of them entered, and the pale face of the young girl, calm and serene as ever, did not betray whether she had caught them or not. As a matter of fact, she had heard them, but they conveyed nothing new to her, for she was perfectly aware of the estimation in which she was held.

Unconsciously to themselves the girls were affected by the quiet presence of the small pale girl with her corn-coloured hair, big grey eyes, and pretty movements. Jane felt ashamed of being idle, and took up her knitting. Marie Fliot did not begin a little gossiping story she had picked up from the *femme de chambre*, of which she instinctively felt Clare would disapprove. Celia, who was sitting in a very ungraceful attitude with crossed knees, instantly altered her position. Monica, who was not in a good temper because the rain prevented their going out, looked less cross than before; and Edith suddenly remembered that she ought to write home.

"I have just been to see the new girls, they are crying their eyes out," said Clare, opening her desk.

"Babies!" said Monica.

"Well, they are younger than any of us," said Edith. "Did not Mrs. Elton say they were twelve?"

"Yes, poor children," said Clare sympathetically. "It is the first time they have ever left home."

"I am sure I cried when I came," said Jane, "and so did you, Edith. You remember, don't you, our coming together?"

"I cried all day and all night too," said Edith; "only you were fast asleep and did not know it."

"I am sure I did not sleep the first night."

"Yes, you did, and how you snored!"

Jane coloured, and Edith went on: "That's why I had to ask Mrs. Elton to put me into another dormitory."

Jane looked ready to cry then, for her snoring was a tender subject, and Clare interposed with the remark:

"I can't get them to come downstairs, they are so shy."

"I will go up to them," said Marie, rising.

Clare flushed. "I had leave to go. I am afraid one cannot go into the other girls' rooms without permission."

Marie shrugged her shoulders. "Of course we are not privileged persons like you!"

"You see I have been here the longest of you all," said Clare gently, though she knew quite well that privileges were granted to her on

account of the great confidence Mrs. Elton had in her, and not because she had come there before any of the others. "I have left them 'Little Women' to read, and I think they may cheer up by tea-time. Of course they are not feeling well after the bad passage they had, they had never crossed the sea before—that was another dreadful experience; they are not good sailors like you, Jane. What a storm that was, when you and I crossed last!"

Jane looked pleased: the little compliment about her being a good sailor, made up for Edith's reminder of her snoring.

"I wonder where Mademoiselle is, this afternoon," said Celia; "not that we miss her. I wish we had a nicer French governess in the house."

"She is an old bore!" said Jane.

"I daresay you find her so because you can't speak," said Marie. "I like poor Mademoiselle."

"I overheard Mrs. Elton say the other day that she was going to get a master, and keep Mademoiselle just for conversation. The folding doors were open, and—"

"Jane, if one overhears a thing, perhaps it would be better not to repeat it."

Jane coloured. "I suppose you are right, Clare."

"We ought to be saints, Clare, with you as senior scholar," said Monica; "I am sure you are held up to us often enough; and you keep us up to the mark."

Clare tried not to look pleased, but Monica quickly detected that she was gratified. "Don't look oblivious to the fact. It is no use. Well, you really are wonderful—you never get into scrapes; you keep all the rules, and Mrs. Elton thinks you perfection."

"I am not perfect by any means," said Clare. "Don't talk nonsense, please, Monica."

At this moment, Mrs. Elton put her head in at the door.

"Clare, dear, I want you."

Clare rose, and followed Mrs. Elton to a small room which she kept for her own special use, and into which the girls only came when needed for a private talk.

"Sit down, Clare, dear. I want to talk to you. It is such a comfort to me to have you, dear; you do not know how I value you; I quite dread the day when you will have to leave."

"Well, I shall not be going yet. You see I am only seventeen, and father wishes me to stay, and I do too, until I am quite nineteen. I am very glad I am any help to you, dear Mrs. Elton."

"You are the very greatest help, dear; your influence among the girls is so good. If you are there, I have no anxiety of any kind, as I know that your very presence checks anything wrong. They all look up to you, more or less," continued Mrs. Elton, quite unconscious how very bad it was for Clare to have this continual commendation. She was not a good judge of character, and was unaware that the

encouragement which shy and shrinking natures need to help them is often as poison to others of a different temperament.

"I want you particularly to look after these two girls who came to-day, Dora and Nellie Hall."

"Very well, Mrs. Elton, I will do all I can. I heard from father to-day."

"Did you, dear, I hope he is well."

"Yes, Mrs. Elton, he gives a very good account of himself, and he says he will come over and fetch me for Christmas. I do wish dear daddy would come oftener; I miss him so," said Clare.

"Indeed you must. It is a pity that your grandmamma will not live in France, then it would be very easy."

"Mrs. Elton, have you settled any more about the prize essay?"

"I am glad you reminded me, Clare. Yes, I have thought it over, and the subject is decided upon."

"I suppose I am not to know?"

"I cannot tell you yet. It will be given out in class on Monday. Are you sleeping better now, Clare?"

"Yes, Mrs. Elton," said Clare, "I am all right now I have a room to myself."

"It was a trial for you having to share one I know," said Mrs. Elton; "and as we have had the small morning-room turned into a bed-room, I was able to give you one to yourself."

"Thank you very much," said Clare; "I do appreciate it."

"I am sure you do," said Mrs. Elton, thinking how well Clare would be likely to use her privileges by quiet times of undisturbed prayer and reading. She looked up fondly at the girl.

"Now I must send you off. Go back to the others, dear Clare."

"Yes, and I must finish those petticoats this evening for Jeanie's baby," said Clare, alluding to a fruit-seller who came regularly to the school, and who was very poor.

"Always thinking of others," said Mrs. Elton, "you are certainly most unselfish."

Clare smiled and went off, stitching hard all the evening, and refusing to play Halma with Jane, or to amuse herself in any way until she had finished her self-appointed task.

After supper, the Rosary was said in a small room called the Oratory, and then the girls went to bed.

Clare's little room was very pretty: She had a nice altar in a tiny alcove. There was a beautiful ivory crucifix, Colonel Hamilton had bought her once in Dieppe, where they had gone for the summer holidays; a statue of our Lady the girls had clubbed together to give her on her last birthday; and a whole row of little books of meditation, as well as some larger volumes of lives of the saints, and books of spiritual reading.

Clare, as elder scholar, was allowed to

have a lamp, and the additional privilege of putting it out when she pleased. The other girls had candles, which Mademoiselle Deschamps came and extinguished half-an-hour after they went into their dormitories.

Clare undressed quickly, put on a dressing-gown, and unlocking her trunk, she took out a yellow-paper-covered volume, and settled herself in a chair to read. The book, a French novel, had been lent her in England, but she had only had time to begin it, and so brought it with her to finish. Clare was well aware that it was against all rules of the school to read any novel without showing it to Mrs. Elton, and she had an inward conviction when she began the book that it was one which would not have met with her approval. In their classes on French literature the girls had often been told of the danger of promiscuous novel-reading, and Clare was well aware that this author was not on the list which they were told they might read. Conscience at first spoke very loudly, but Clare silenced it with the reflection that she had not been forbidden to read that particular book, and that she had begun it when at home. Colonel Hamilton was not a French scholar, nor was his mother, and Clare had not troubled herself to ask the leave of either. As she read, she felt more and more that the book was unlike anything she had ever read before—very unlike the capital stories for girls of which they had a plentiful supply in the schoolroom library, very different from

the few good novels Mrs. Elton had chosen for the elder girls. There was something that jarred upon Clare's unsullied mind, that sent the blood to her cheeks now and then, and that made her feel that the world was more wicked than she had ever imagined it to be. The book was written in beautiful French, and Clare felt she must finish it, though, as she told herself over and over again, she never would read another of the kind.

When her little travelling clock struck eleven, Clare jumped up, locked away the volume, and got into bed without saying any prayers. All outward devotions seen by others were made by Clare with apparent zeal and great punctuality, but those things which belong to the hidden life of the soul,—the practices of piety seen by none but Almighty God and the heavenly host—were very much neglected. She comforted herself, when qualms of conscience arose, by thinking that all must be right, or she would not hold the place she did in the school or in Mrs. Elton's estimation.

On the Monday, Mrs. Elton gave out that Monsieur Fliot, Marie's father, had offered a prize to the English girls at the school for the best essay in French on "Spring." He was a thorough student, having an excellent library and a great deal of literary work.

"When are we to write it?" asked Celia, who was always in a hurry.

"You may read what you like and think the

subject well over until next Monday, when I shall assemble those who are going to compete in the schoolroom, and give you pens and ink and paper—no books of reference allowed, Monica; no dictionary, Jane—and I shall stay there while you write it."

"In a given time?"

"Yes, Edith—two hours, not more. And if you have done it in less, all the better for yourselves."

"It will be no use my trying," said Jane; "I should not have a chance."

"You must do as you like about it," said Mrs. Elton.

"Is Marie to compete too—when she is French?"

"No, it would hardly be fair. But Dora and Nellie may, and they will have as good a chance as any of you, as they have had a French governess living with them, and speak the language very well."

"You have not told us what the prize is," said Monica; "may we not know?"

"It is a small gold bangle," said Mrs. Elton, "so Monsieur Fliot says."

"I hope I shall win it," said Edith; "mother would be so pleased."

"I should like the bangle very much; bracelets are about the only jewellery I care at all about," said Monica.

"Well, girls, you will all try your hardest, and do your very best."

Of course for the next few days little else was talked about in recreation time but the essay, and the shelves were ransacked for all books which could help the girls with ideas on the subject. Clare worked as hard as the rest, and seemed anxious about it, for though she spoke and read French extremely well, her spelling was often very much at fault.

Every evening Clare read a little more of the French novel and hurried her reading as much as possible. Over and over again conscience whispered to her, and she felt half inclined to shut up the rest of the book; but she could not resist the temptation to finish it.

No one who is really in earnest can say that they cannot resist temptation, for temptation is never permitted to overwhelm us if we take means to overcome it. But Clare had not been keeping her heart with all watchfulness, though apparently she had been doing her duty and leading a blameless life. She knew there was something wrong with herself, and ever since she had returned to school she had not felt really happy. It was altogether foreign to her to be doing anything of which she was ashamed, and every night as she laid down the book she felt her cheeks burning with the fear of being found out, and with annoyance at the amount of trouble her evil deed was giving her. There was no fire-place in Clare's room, so each night she tore out the portion she had read, burnt it at the lamp, and carefully gathering

up the black ashes, threw them out of the window.

On the Friday before the anxious day, there was hardly any wind, the sky was blue, and the sun was shining brightly. A friend of Colonel Hamilton's was coming from England, and Clare had been down to the port to meet her and see her off in the train for Paris. Mademoiselle was with her, and when the train had started, they wondered what they might do.

"Mrs. Elton said we could go for a walk," said Clare; "if you are not too tired, Mademoiselle."

"No, not at all. It is a curious thing that since I have been in Boulogne, I have never been to the fisherman's chapel."

"Do you mean the one near the very large crucifix on the heights?"

"Yes—the crucifix, you know, is the one the sailors always look at from their fishing-boats as they are going out of the harbour. They kneel down and say a prayer."

"I heard of that before I came, father told me," said Clare; "and when I came here the first time I looked out for it as soon as we were within sight of Boulogne. Shall we go there, Mademoiselle? I have been, and I know the way."

"I should like it very much," said Mademoiselle. "I have always put it off, thinking any time would do; and I daresay the fresh air will do your head-ache good. Mrs. Elton was wise to say you should not return to any more lessons to-day."

They were near the port, with its many vessels and all the bustle of the quay, with its passers-by of such varied appearances. There were English in great numbers, sailors of both countries, and the Boulogne fisher-women,—matelottes as they are called—with their short skirts and white frilled caps, looking like aureoles. Then they turned up the Rue des Signaux, and went slowly along, stopping every now and then to look through the curious openings down to the port. These are a succession of steps, with houses facing each other, a very small space being left between. Bars stretched across from one house to another on which clothes of every description were hanging to dry, and children, still sunburnt from the summer sun, were playing about in all directions. In the street itself the houses were yellow and grey, with dark red roofs and green and red shutters. There were little fruit-shops here and there, their green, and red and golden wares making quite a bright spot of colour in the picturesque street. At last they reached the top of the cliff, and gazed out at the beautiful view. The sea was of an intensely deep blue, contrasting well with the hue of the yellow sands. They could look down on the quaint and irregular roofs of the town, and see the thicket of masts in the basin; then there was the Casino, with its pretty grounds and trees all golden and brown; and away in the horizon a purple outline at which Clare looked wistfully, for it was the coast of England, where her father was.

She stood there looking at it, and the thought came—what would her father think if he knew that his one daughter, his beloved Clare, who, in his eyes, was perfection, had read such a book as the one she was now reading? It was very uncomfortable, and Clare wondered how she could have done it, for it was not like a fault committed under great provocation, and done in an unwary moment; it was a deliberate action persisted in day after day. However, she thought with a sigh, she would have finished it to-night, and then all would be well. She had not been to confession since she had come back this time—before Christmas she would go. It was somewhat of a surprise to Mrs. Elton that Clare, who seemed so pious in other ways, should go but seldom to the sacraments, but she supposed that it was from a great feeling of awe and humility.

"Let us go now and look closer at the crucifix," said Mademoiselle, who wondered why Clare stood silently watching the horizon where England lay.

Clare started, and then they went into the place where the crucifix stands, and as the man in charge of the chapel came up just then, they followed him into it.

It was very tiny, and the altar was gay and bright; there were pictures on the walls, and mortuary wreaths which contrasted sadly with the brightness of the other decorations, telling of many aching hearts who had come to place

here the mementoes of those who had perished in the deep.

Before returning home, they went into the fisherman's church, St. Pierre, to make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament. The church is large and lofty, and has a curious dark Gothic oak altar and pulpit. There is sand everywhere, blown in by the high winds which sweep up from the sea.

Mademoiselle Deschamps said her Rosary, and Clare knelt, apparently absorbed in prayer. Latterly her thoughts had wandered more than ever when at her devotions, and she found it very difficult to keep her attention. For the last two years she had been living an unreal kind of life, for though she would hardly admit it to herself, she was losing sight of the great importance of purity of intention, and of the truth that, however many other motives might come in, yet the first should be to do all for God and His glory. To those whose hearts are pure, there is no difficulty in seeing God in the way of placing Him first. But when human respect and vain-glory come in, the eye is not "single."

That night Clare shut her door with a great feeling of thankfulness that she had come to the end of her stolen reading. She felt sorry that she had been so weak as not to give it up before, and she thought if she had to live over again, how differently she would have acted.

A faint knock at the door came just as Clare was going to open her trunk.

"What is it?"

"It is I—Jane," said a muffled voice

Clare opened the door.

"My tooth-ache is so bad! I shall never sleep a wink, and so I have come to ask you if you had that stuff you got when you had tooth-ache. I went to Mrs. Elton's little room first, but she was busy with accounts, and she said I could come and ask you."

"Yes, I have it."

"Then do give it to me, there's a dear," said Jane; "you put it on cotton wool, don't you, and stuff it in the hole?"

"Yes—well, if you will go back, I will bring it to you," said Clare, knowing that the remedy was in her trunk, and that, if she opened it, the book, or what was left of it, might be seen.

Her heart beat fast with annoyance and fear. To a girl unaccustomed as she was to deceit, the experience was very dreadful.

"Oh, no, thank you, dear," said Jane, seating herself in a chair. "Why need you trouble when I am here and can take it?"

"You had better put it in when you are in bed," said Clare. "Let me bring it to you. I know I may, as Mrs. Elton says I may go to the other rooms in case of necessity."

"I could not see in bed."

"See—what do you want to see for?"

"Because when I saw you put your stuff in, you stood before the looking-glass and poked it in," said Jane, who seemed unusually sharp—so

much so, that Clare, feeling guilty and unhappy, suspected her, and wondered if she could guess. But she dismissed the thought from her mind at once. Jane could not suspect.

"Well, never mind how I did it. Do go back and I will bring it to you."

"No—no, I will wait; where do you keep it? In your chest of drawers?"

"No."

"Where, then?"

"In my trunk," said Clare in desperation. "Jane, have you ever seen that photograph of my father?—isn't it a nice one!"

Jane was caught by the bait to distract her attention, and turned to the little bracket where the photographs were.

Clare, in a minute of time, which, however, seemed to her a month—so nervous and fearful was she—unlocked the trunk, and with a jerk sent the remaining leaves of the book under a shawl. After rummaging for the bottle, she found it and gave it to Jane.

"Thank you very much; what do you keep in that trunk?"

"Clothes," said Clare briefly.

"Do let me have a look into it. I just love looking at clothes and things."

"Indeed I cannot. Besides, Jane, you know if we ever do go to each other's rooms, we are never supposed to stay long without special permission."

"Oh, very well. You are so fussy about rules

and things. I never knew anyone like you. I often wonder if you ever do anything wrong!"

"Don't talk nonsense, Jane."

"It is not nonsense."

"Well, good-night. I hope your tooth-ache will be better after you have put that stuff into the tooth."

"Yes, I hope so. Do you know what we girls call you among ourselves?"

Clare guessed it was something laudatory, and her curiosity was too much for her.

"What?"

"Guess."

"I cannot. Be quick if you want to tell me."

"Well, we call you a 'paragon of perfection.' I wish I were more like you. I seem always in the wars. I forget rules and I am not quick," said Jane sadly, for in her heart she wanted to be good.

Clare blushed, and at last got her visitor off.

The end of the book was read, the pages burnt, the ashes scattered, and Clare felt as if a weight was off her heart.

She knelt down, and, after saying some prayers, went to bed.

Monday seemed very long in coming, to the girls who were going to compete.

"At what o'clock are we to begin?" said Jane; "not that I have much chance; only I should like to try."

"Mrs. Elton said at eleven."

"Then we aren't to do our usual morning lessons?"

"No, Celia. We are to have only the essay this morning," said Clare.

"I feel so nervous, I shall forget everything," said Edith anxiously.

"I don't feel nervous."

"No, I daresay not, Clare; you never are."

Oh, am I not? thought Clare, as the memory of her reading came back to her.

"And you have such a capital memory," said Celia; "I wish I had as good a one."

"I think it will be jolly," said Nellie Hall.

"And so do I," said Dora, who always echoed her twin-sister.

"There is not much to remind one of Spring in the weather," said Celia; "how hard it is blowing."

"Yes, don't you pity the people who are crossing to-day?"

"I do," said Nellie; "I hate the sea."

The girls went on chattering for half-an-hour, and then the bell rang for their *petit déjêuner* of coffee and rolls, they were to have their lunch or *déjêuner à la fourchette*—for they lived French fashion at Boulogne—when the essay-writing was over.

Mrs. Elton sat with her knitting at one end of the table, round which were gathered the girls at sufficient distance from each other. They were strictly upon their honour not to see each

others' writing, and all obeyed the injunction faithfully.

They had all finished at half-past twelve, and Mrs. Elton provided them each with an envelope for their essay, upon which they had written the motto they had chosen, for no essay was signed. All the essays were posted off to Monsieur Fliot that evening.

"When shall we know about them?" asked Celia, as Mrs. Elton sat with the girls during their evening recreation.

"Monsieur Fliot said he would read them this week, and let me know the successful winners by Saturday, if possible," said Mrs. Elton.

"Papa always keeps his word," said Marie. "You will be sure to know."

"Has he got the bangle already?" enquired Jane.

Marie nodded. "Yes, I chose it with him when we were together in the holidays. It is very pretty and really good."

The next day the girls were at their lessons as usual, and all so busy working up for the Christmas breaking-up, and the examinations that were to precede it, that Clare nearly forgot the French novel. She felt she should never do it again, and the resolution in itself helped to make her brighter and happier.

"It is very odd that I have not heard from your father, Marie," said Mrs. Elton on Saturday morning.

"Yes, very. He is so punctual about letters and everything," answered Marie. "I had a note from him yesterday, you know, Mrs. Elton, and he did not mention the subject."

"He acknowledged the packet of essays on a card—that was all," said Mrs. Elton.

"Perhaps we shall hear by the next post," said Clare, who was very anxious to know the results of the competition.

As the girls were all seated at their mid-day meal, a loud knock at the door sounded, and someone was shown into the drawing-room.

Then the servant came and told Mrs. Elton that Monsieur Fliot was there.

"Papa!"

"Yes—your father," said Mrs. Elton.

"Surely he has not come himself to give us the answer?"

"May I go to him?—I have quite finished," said Marie.

Mrs. Elton smiled. "Yes, go, dear, and say I will come in a few minutes."

The permission was no sooner given than Marie ran off, and was soon with her father, who was charmed to see her.

"But papa, we never expected you."

"No—ah well, you see you get surprises sometimes," said Monsieur Fliot, a little man with brown hair turning grey.

"But you did not intend to come," said Marie.

"I was at Amiens, and as that is not so far off, I thought I would come myself."

"But—about the essays?"

"Yes, it is about the essays.

"And who has won?"

"Curious child, you must wait a little to know," said Monsieur Fliot. "You were out of it all, you see."

"But I am curious on account of the girls—they are all so anxious."

"All in good time, as they say in English, but I want to see Mrs. Elton," said Monsieur Fliot, "where is she?"

"I will fetch her."

"You may tell her, but you need not return," said Monsieur Fliot.

"Papa!"

"You will see me afterwards, I promise you that. Indeed, I shall take you out, and we shall go to a concert this evening, if I hear a good account of you."

"You are a dear papa—oh, and cannot the girls come too?"

"I really cannot go to a concert with six—seven—how many young girls? No. You may ask your favourite, Miss Clare, to come, and I hope to persuade Mrs. Elton. Now go and tell her."

Mrs. Elton was in the passage coming to the salon when Marie ran out.

After greeting her visitor, Mrs. Elton sat down, and Monsieur Fliot drew his chair opposite to her.

He spoke English very well indeed, and they talked in that language.

"Madame, I felt it was better for me to come and see you, after reading the essays. You know it was a little pleasure which Marie wished to give her school-fellows, and I was anxious to meet her wishes. First, let me say that on the whole I was surprised, they were so much better than I expected—taken as a whole."

"I am, indeed, very glad, Monsieur," said Mrs. Elton, looking as pleased as she felt.

"The best essay, and the one which should gain the prize—you notice I say 'should,' Madame," said Monsieur Fliot, "is the one which bears the motto '*spe vivitur*.' I do not know in the least who the writer is, and I am not acquainted with any of the handwritings."

"The mottoes were not even told to me, and I carefully kept from looking at them as I sent the essays off," said Mrs. Elton.

"Very good. Now I have said the agreeable thing, I have now to say the disagreeable," said Monsieur Fliot, "and I can assure you, Madame, I am very greatly distressed at having to do it," continued Monsieur Fliot, who was rather long-winded.

Mrs. Elton looked surprised and began hastily:

"There has been no copying that I can vouch for. I can answer for the honour of all my girls—they may have their faults, but they are quite true, and besides, even if they wished it, I was at the table watching them closely all the time, and they had no notes and ——'

"Gently, Madame. I did not say anything of the kind. Permit me to explain."

"Certainly, Monsieur," said Mrs. Elton, who felt she had spoken too impulsively.

"In the essay which should gain the prize, there is a passage on the beauty of spring which can only have been written by some one who had read very lately—unless they have marvellous powers of memory—that book, 'Mirabelle,' —you have heard of it, no doubt?"

"Certainly I have, Monsieur. I keep myself well acquainted with what comes out, though I cannot read a great deal. I have certainly not read that book, for I understood it was by ——," said Mrs. Elton, naming a well-known writer. "And I also heard that the book was most abominable."

"If you have not read it, your pupil has, of that I am certain. I read the book myself, for in my capacity of reviewer I am obliged to see and read a great deal. I would not trust to my memory, so I referred again to the book."

"It cannot be," said Mrs. Elton. "No books come into the house without my knowledge, and besides, I am sure none of my pupils have read it—unless, indeed," said Mrs. Elton, "it could be one or other of two new girls who have only come this term; but they are the youngest of the school, and very unlikely to have read the book at home. Still, they had a French governess, she might have read the book, and—well, it is possible, of course, but very unlikely.

No nice woman would have such a book, or read it."

"I entirely agree with you, Madame, and you may think that I considered the matter one of importance, when I came expressly to see you about it. Now, let me read you the passage."

"Let me see the essay—I shall know the handwriting."

"No—I prefer to settle it this way. Will you have the kindness to turn your back to me? Now—so. I will read you the passage in the book."

Monsieur Fliot did so. It was a most beautiful description of the early days of spring, couched in the most exquisite French.

"Now I will read you the passage in the essay."

It was very like—so like, in fact, that Mrs. Elton could not deny that the writer of it must have read the book.

"How can I find out?"

"You must ask your pupils."

"I should not like to put the idea into their heads," said Mrs. Elton.

"It had better be done. For if you have a girl who reads such books, either openly or on the sly, she will probably corrupt the others."

"I can call all the girls, and send them into the next room, which opens with folding doors," said Mrs. Elton, pointing to the latter. "And

then they can come in here one by one, and pass out."

"Very well." Monsieur Fliot leant back in his chair, and the girls soon entered and filed past him, as he rose and bowed gravely.

They were all very much excited, and very curious, but thought it had to do with the prize.

Each was called by Mrs. Elton, and each girl was called and asked alone and individually about her recent reading.

All who had come were quite innocent, and only Clare remained.

Mrs. Elton breathed a sigh of relief as she entered, looking pleased and hopeful.

"The motto is '*spe vivitur*,'—is it not? as you are the last?"

"Yes, Monsieur."

"Have you read many French novels?" asked Monsieur Fliot, looking hard at Clare.

"Hardly any."

"Have you never read a book called 'Mirabelle?'" asked Monsieur Fliot.

To Mrs. Elton's astonishment, Clare turned deadly white.

Monsieur repeated his question.

"Yes, I have."

"There—I told you I was right!" said Monsieur Fliot. "Then you have a good memory, Mademoiselle, for a passage in your essay betrays you."

"Clare! surely you have not read that book,—there must be some mistake?"

Clare sadly shook her head. The idea of being discovered, now the book was destroyed, had never entered her head.

"Yes, I have read it. I knew it was wrong. I was ashamed," said Clare, speaking slowly. "But I got interested, and I wanted to finish it. I shall never do such a thing again."

"*You!*" said Mrs. Elton. "Had it been anyone else. I shall never believe in anyone again."

"I don't congratulate you on your taste in reading, Mademoiselle," said Monsieur Fliot, and the colour came in a crimson tide over Clare's cheeks, and bursting into tears, she ran out of the room.

"Who will then have the prize?" said Mrs. Elton.

"This young lady."

It was Edith Lennox.

An hour after, the girls were assembled in the school-room, and the prize was awarded to her.

Mrs. Elton had gone up to Clare, and told her she need not mention the subject to the girls.

"I feel now, Mrs. Elton, as if no humiliation would be too great—as if I ought to tell them."

"I leave it to you, Clare. If you think you should, do so. I confess I am greatly disappointed in you—you, whom I thought incapable of such a thing. Do you not know, my dear child, that

apart from the wrong of doing what is forbidden, to read what is not good soils and stains that purity of mind and heart which you should guard as your greatest treasure?"

"I know. I felt quite different. It seems to have left a mark that I can't efface."

"No—but the Sacrament of Penance will give you fresh grace to try and obliterate it from your memory."

When Monsieur Fliot had given the bangle to Edith, Clare came forward and told the girls of what she had done.

The courage of her confession won the respect of the girls, and they all said they would never speak of it, or wound her in any way by referring to the occurrence. This they did, but, insensibly to themselves, they made her feel that they had not forgotten it.

"Mrs. Elton," said Clare one evening, six months after this had happened. "I sometimes think I cannot bear it."

"What, dear?"

"I know the girls don't look up to me, or trust me, as they used."

"I thought they never spoke of what had happened," said Mrs. Elton.

"No—they never do speak," said Clare, "but I feel it in so many ways. They seemed as if they distrusted my caring about—"

"About religious things?" asked Mrs. Elton, guessing what it was.

"Yes. Oh, *you* don't think me a humbug—do you?"

"Because of that one deception?—no, certainly not," said Mrs. Elton. "Sometimes young people are harder upon each other than older people."

"I try and bear it, but it is different—they used to think so much of me."

"Too much, perhaps," said Mrs. Elton, smiling; "and I was a little to blame, dear, in singling you out so much."

It certainly was a hard lesson to learn, and one which Clare found very bitter, for she had now to find out what she did for God only, and what to obtain human praise. It had been very easy to be good when she was the chief girl of the school, held up as a model for imitation. It had not been difficult to observe all devotions seen by others when she knew it confirmed her reputation for goodness. The praise and admiration had been very sweet in deed: a great spur and a great source of self-satisfaction. And in the little world of school-life, Clare learnt day by day that true peace of heart is obtained only by purity of intention and the firm resolve to place God first, and do all for Him.

Colonel Hamilton, to Clare's surprise, married again, and the surprise was mingled with pleasure, for it left her free, when she was twenty, to offer herself as a postulant in a Carmelite house.

Clare's friends thought she never would stay

or have the necessary courage for the life, but they were mistaken. Her humility and simplicity are remarkable, and increase as time goes on.

No one but herself knew that it was the bitter humiliation of her schooldays that first began the work of tearing up the weeds which were growing in her heart, and left it free for some beautiful virtues to take root, as they will where there is room for them.

But it was not the work of a day or of a year. Only little by little was it done, and at the cost of much pain. But it is well worth while to endure such pain, for it is only those whose hearts are "kept with diligence," who fit themselves while on earth for the Vision of God, and of the "King in his beauty," in the land that is very far off.

# THE DOCTRINE OF INTENTION.

BY THE REV. SYDNEY F. SMITH, S.J.

ONE of the sources of invalidity which Catholic writers find in Anglican Orders is the defective intention of the minister, a defect which is usually treated with regard to the consecration of Archbishop Parker, Barlow, say the Catholics, had no intention when consecrating Parker to impart to him any such sacramental power as according to Catholic doctrine is the distinctive possession of a Catholic Bishop, and for this reason alone he could not have imparted any such power. Anglicans, not seeing their way to defend Barlow's orthodoxy, have met this argument by denying the necessity of such an intention in the minister, and by retorting upon us the terrible effects which, as they conceive, such a doctrine if true would introduce into our own communion. Thus a writer in the *Times* (Oct. 17th, 1894) quotes from Dr. Littledale the following trenchant passage: "What this [doctrine of intention] practically means is that no Roman Catholic can be sure that he himself has ever been baptized, confirmed, absolved, or given Holy Communion; for even if he be morally certain of the honesty and piety of the bishops and priests who have professed to do these things for him, he has no warrant at all that they have been validly ordained, since the bishop who professed to ordain them may have withheld his intention, or himself in turn have been invalidly consecrated."

A retort like this may easily impress a reader only superficially acquainted with the subject, and it will be well to show the fallacy which underlies its reasoning. I shall endeavour to make it clear: first, that as a retort it fails, because the kind of intention which we miss in

Parker's consecrator—the defect which we think would of itself, even if there were no other reason, have nullified the Orders he conveyed—is quite distinct from the kind of intention which Anglicans think must have been so often missing in the administration of sacraments among ourselves: secondly, that the doctrine of intention, as our theologians understand it, does not expose our sacraments to any such alarming uncertainties as Dr. Littledale describes.

"Intention, "meaning," "mind," "sense," are so many practically equivalent terms which we continually employ when interpreting the language of others. "What did he *intend* to say?" we ask; "What was his *meaning?*" "Why does he not declare his *mind* more fully?" "In what *sense* does he wish his words to be taken?" The terms denote something internal to the speaker which he desires others to know, and which for that purpose he manifests externally by words and actions in various ways. The very object of speech is to manifest these intentions of the mind, and speech is useful to the hearer so far forth as it does manifest them. Words by themselves are but so much sound in the air, or scrawl on paper. For these on their own account we do not much care: what we do care for on its own account is that which they are intended to communicate to us, that which is inside the man, his knowledge, his counsels, his wishes, his projects; in short, his intentions.

In most cases when a man speaks, his words even taken by themselves sufficiently declare this internal meaning or intention, and we can be certain from them what it is, There are times, however, when the spoken words fall short of this result, leaving us with some indications but much doubt of what was intended. Thus not uncommonly some sovereign or statesman gives utterance to a mysterious statement which sets the world speculating: as when Napoleon III. on New Year's Day, 1859, replied to the greetings of the Austrian ambassador by regretting that the relations between the two countries were not so good as formerly, and the world began forthwith to ask whether the Emperor's intention was

to threaten war. Those who tried to divine his hidden meaning, laid stress on the circumstances of the utterance, on the French Emperor's known aims, etc., and thence formed their conclusions as to his meaning. So again if some one recommends me a theological book and says it contains sound doctrine, I first ask what is his doctrinal standpoint. When this is ascertained, I can gather from it with certainty whether he means that the book is Catholic, Anglican, or Evangelical. So too if an advertisement for a Catholic governess appears in the *Times*, I understand that a Roman Catholic governess is intended, because the words are addressed to readers who will take them in the ordinary sense; but if the same advertisement had appeared in the *Church Times*, I should have understood that a High Church Anglican was required, this being the incongruous sense of the word 'Catholic' current in that journal. The tests to which these extraneous means of interpreting obscure language are reducible, as the instances given illustrate, are these three; the otherwise known views of the speaker, the circumstances under which he speaks, and the sense in which his hearers will understand him when speaking under such circumstances. If the speaker conforms his speech to the exigencies of these tests, he is so far acting rationally; if he disregards them, he is so far acting irrationally and perhaps dishonestly.

With these preliminary explanations, the objection taken to Parker's Orders on the score of Barlow's intention will be intelligible. It must be remembered that until the reign of Edward VI. the old Catholic Pontifical was used in the country. This ordinal fulfils the essential requirements of a valid ordinal by signifying distinctly through its words and ceremonies the conveyance of that interior supernatural gift, the possession of which characterizes a Catholic bishop or priest. But just on this account Cranmer disliked it, and changed it for an ordinal of his own, so constructed as to be very suitable for the ceremonious appointment of a Protestant pastor, but most unsuited for the consecration or ordination of a Catholic bishop or priest. Thus, in the case of a bishop, the consecrator is directed, whilst laying on hands, to say

nothing more than this: "Take the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of God which is in thee by the imposition of hands; for God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness." Clearly these very indefinite words do not of themselves signify the interior consecration required in a Catholic bishop. The most that can be said for them is that they might just suffice to bear this sense, and so just suffice to consecrate if used by a prelate who intended them in such a Catholic sense. Thus we are led to inquire into the intention of Barlow (and the others), and we investigate it by applying the same three tests which we have seen to be generally applicable in cases of obscure and ambiguous language. We ask whether when he said the words, "Take the Holy Ghost, &c," *he* meant by them the interior consecration of a Catholic bishop or the external ceremonious appointment of a Protestant pastor of the highest grade. Unless Barlow spoke irrationally on the occasion, a thing we have no right to suppose, the three tests should give us his intended sense, and the sense to which they point as having been intended is manifestly Protestant, not Catholic; for these consecrators were all thorough-going Protestants themselves and so likewise was the candidate whom they were consecrating, whilst the entire object of the ceremony was to inaugurate a new hierarchy conformed to their views of propriety. This, and this only, is the aspect under which we raise the question of intention in connexion with Anglican Orders, and draw therefrom a conclusion adverse to them; though, be it remembered, this is not the only or the primary reason why we disbelieve in their validity.

Now let us examine the *tu quoque* on which Anglicans rely so much. It is generally introduced with an illustration from the concrete case of Talleyrand, the unhappy French Bishop who laicized himself during the Revolution, having previously consecrated the earliest of the Constitutional Bishops. At that time the Revolutionary Government was forcing on the French clergy an oath inconsistent with due loyalty to

the Holy See, and, all but one or two of the Bishops refusing to take it, it was desired to supplant the recusants by others of a more pliant nature. No one else would consecrate the intruders, but Talleyrand consented to undertake the office, and from the Orders thus imparted the Orders of some of the modern French clergy are said to be derived. Accordingly Anglicans, who assume (though this is not so certain) that Talleyrand did not believe in the reality of sacramental agency, ask if, on the principles applied by us to Barlow's case, Talleyrand's intention must not also be regarded as defective and the Orders he conveyed as in like manner invalid. But we have never argued that Barlow's intention was insufficient merely, and formally, because his belief was unorthodox. The Church expressly teaches that heresy in the minister does not, as such, invalidate his sacraments. Still, although heresy as to the nature of Holy Order does not, as such, invalidate Orders, it may under certain circumstances be a motive inducing the heretical minister to take the words of his ordinal in an unorthodox sense, and we have argued that this happened at Parker's consecration. With Talleyrand it was quite different. Just as the circumstances under which Barlow acted would have moved him to take the words in a sense coinciding with his own personal beliefs, so the circumstances under which Talleyrand acted would have moved him to take the words in a sense which, if he really disbelieved in sacramental agency, did not coincide with his beliefs. For Talleyrand's object was to make bishops who in the eyes of the French Catholics would possess the full power of Order just as much as the Bishops who had been displaced; and this required that he should take the words of the Catholic ordinal in the Catholic sense. And then, there is this further immense difference between Talleyrand's case and Barlow's. Talleyrand used an ordinal too clear in its language to be open to misconstruction, so that, had he put upon it a sense adverse to Holy Order, he would have been doing violence to its language. Barlow used a rite drawn up to express the views of his party, and one which, if it is at all susceptible of a Catholic sense, can

receive it only through an ample importation of favourable interpretation from the three afore-mentioned tests.

But, it is said to us, Talleyrand may have had a secret intention not to mean what his words meant, and, according to your doctrine, that would have been sufficient to invalidate his sacramental acts. The first thing to notice about this suggestion is that it differs altogether from the suggestion made as to the defective intention of Parker's consecrators, and this is the distinction between two kinds of intention referred to at the beginning of the present paper. To refer again to the illustration already used, it is one thing to gather from the fact of an advertisement appearing in the *Church Times* rather than in the *Times*, that a High Church Anglican is the kind of person wanted,—it is another to suspect that perhaps the advertiser does not want a governess at all. Yet it is an inference of the first kind which we make in regard to Barlow, and it is a suspicion of the second kind that Anglicans raise in regard to Talleyrand. They suggest that Talleyrand may not have meant what his words under the circumstances naturally should mean; we suggest that Barlow presumably did mean what his words under the circumstances naturally should mean. They suggest that Talleyrand may have acted irrationally: we suggest that Barlow presumably acted in a way which for him was rational. They suggest that Talleyrand may have been deceiving the schismatic candidate before him and the Government which had presented him for consecration; we suggest that Barlow presumably did not deceive Parker and the rest. In short we impute to Barlow a certain use of intention which in him, unless he was a hypocrite, was proper; they impute to Talleyrand a certain abuse of intention, which would be improper in any man whatever. It is by confusing two such distinct things that Dr. Littledale and his co-religionists are able to present a retort which is such in appearance though not in reality.

Still though the retort fails by its irrelevancy, the question remains whether a secret withholding of the purely internal intention would have the effect of in-

validating a sacrament, and if so, whether the possibility of such things happening justifies an utter distrust in their efficacy. It is a question, however, which must be faced by all alike who consider themselves to have an Apostolic Succession, whether Catholic or Anglicans; for if there is the imputed security it must affect Anglicans Orders as well as ours (supposing them to have Orders); and if there is not insecurity, the immunity from it must attend our Orders as much as theirs. Anglican readers ought then to join with us here in an unprejudiced inquiry into so important a question.

It is true that the validity of a sacrament does so far depend on the internal intention of the minister that if he were secretly to withhold it the sacramental act would be invalid; at least this is the doctrine more commonly, and, as it seems to us, more correctly, taught by Catholic theologians. Some indeed, have taught that the "intention to do what the Church does," which the Councils assign as a necessary element in a valid sacrament, is satisfied if there is an intention to comply seriously with the externals of the appointed rite. This last mentioned opinion is that associated with the name of Catharinus, and is held by some Catholics as being preferable to the other opinion, just because it seems to avoid the difficulties on which Dr. Littledale dilates. We have no wish to attack this opinion if any one prefers to hold it, but as the other is far more commonly held, it is clearly desirable to know whether, if it represents the truth, it introduces any serious uncertainty into the administration of our sacraments; whether the results of its action must necessarily be such as to justify Dr. Littledale's description. We shall see presently that ultimately the real risk is *nil*, but let us first understand the grounds for holding the doctrine at all.

Our Lord gave to His priests the power of order over the sacraments, attaching it to the employment of certain words and ceremonies the character of which He Himself determined. It will be convenient to confine our study of the subject to a single sacrament, the Holy Eucharist. It must not be supposed that our Lord Himself prescribed the entire liturgy of the Holy Mass

as it is now celebrated in our churches. He gave to His priests the power to consecrate by using the words, "This is My Body, This is My Blood." The further ceremonies have been added in the course of time by the Church, in the exercise of her right and for the sake of greater expressiveness and solemnity; and, the Church having prescribed them, it would be very sinful in a priest to celebrate Mass without them. Still, the Church's action in prescribing additional ceremonies does not alter the power of the priest, which continues to be conditioned for its valid exercise by the words of consecration, and by these alone. Now in receiving this power from our Lord, is the priest so tied by it that he can never pronounce those particular words in the presence of bread and wine without their consecration resulting? Does he necessarily consecrate when he reads in the Epistle for Corpus Christi, at the side of the altar, St. Paul's account of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament, or if he reads the same account in a community refectory during a meal? Clearly, to be tied to the sacramental use of the words of consecration to this extent would be an intolerable burden to the priest and an intolerable evil to the Church. But the natural alternative is that the power given to the priest should be attached, not to the mechanical recitation of the sacramental words in presence of the elements on all occasions, but to their recitation over the elements whenever it is done with the intention of consecrating them; and the same must be said in reference to the other sacraments, and inclusively to Holy Order, the sacrament with which we are primarily concerned.

This explanation will perhaps suffice to show that the doctrine of intention has a rational basis; but now arises the question of the risk to which the possession of such a power by an unworthy priest exposes us. The position we must take up is this, that a *prima facie* risk does exist, but is ultimately reducible to so little that it does not affect the spiritual security of anyone. The risk does exist, for if the priest has power to give or withhold intention, he can give or withhold it at the altar as much as elsewhere, and with the power comes

the power of misuse. But in the first place this risk is only a part of the general risk to which we are exposed by being placed in so many ways in dependence on the free-will of our fellow-men. Even in regard to this same matter of dependence for our sacraments on an Apostolic Succession, if it is possible for a priest to deceive us by withholding the needful intention, it is also possible for him to deceive us by not using the proper matter or saying the proper words; it is possible too that he is not really ordained but has deceived the bishop by false papers, or (as we are engaged in making improbable and horrible suppositions) that the bishop and he may have entered into a conspiracy to deceive us. And if it is answered that we can watch and judge for ourselves about external ceremonies, this is an answer not wholly true of ceremonies taking place in our own days, and it is an answer quite inapplicable to the sacraments administered in former generations, through which the Apostolic Succession should have been transmitted to our present pastors.

In the second place we can meet the risk of possibly withheld intention just as we meet the risk of possibly changed words or matter, or of possible non-ordination in the minister. We can bear in mind that the personal character of the vast majority of pastors to whom we have recourse, renders them absolutely incapable of thus deceiving us. We can bear in mind the lynx-eyed watchfulness with which the Church guards her sacraments, a watchfulness specially on the alert in regard to such sacraments as have far-reaching effects. Anglicans are indignant with us for giving conditional baptism to the converts who come over to us from their ranks. It is this very spirit of intense anxiety to be secure against risk which makes us find it intolerable to risk the chance of mal-administration by those over whom the Church has no control; and the same spirit would cause us to refuse baptism or ordination from the hands of one whom there were overt reasons for distrusting.

When we take into account the dependence of our present sacraments on possible withholdings of intention

in past generations, just as when we take into account their dependence on possible changes in matter and form, or possible lack of ordination in past times, we can no longer satisfy ourselves by direct evidence. Still we have left at least these grounds for security, first, that the Church has been ever the same in her lynx-eyed watchfulness, and secondly, that whereas "no man does wrong gratuitously," the motives must be rare indeed which could induce even a bad bishop or priest to withhold his intention secretly, while overtly administering a sacrament. Judged from this point of view, the risk from past withholdings of intention must be deemed less than the risk from improper changes in matter and form or from lack of ordination. When a man is indifferent about a ceremony, his tendency is to omit it altogether, or, if constrained to perform it, to omit whatever is irksome about it. But there is nothing irksome in supplying the requisite intention, which comes spontaneously when the externals of the sacrament are performed, and could not be withheld without a positive and violent effort. In short the only motive which could induce the minister of a sacrament to withhold his intention would be a sheer spite against God, a kind of wickedness truly diabolical, and which we may trust is rare even among bad men. Thus we are brought to the conclusion previously announced, that although there may be some risk through the possibility of bad priests, it is not very large.

And this conclusion is confirmed by the kind of instances to the contrary which are brought forward, whenever the critics of our Apostolic Succession venture to pass from vague generalities to tangible facts. Talleyrand's case which usually comes in the front rank, I have already sufficiently dealt with; for it is clear that since his object was to provide bishops whom Catholics would acknowledge as having the power of order, he would have wished to supply whatever was deemed necessary, internal intention included. Canon MacColl, in a letter to the *Times* (Oct. 15, 1894), cited the case of a South American bishop, who, not desiring to have quadroons among his clergy, announced publicly

that, if any such presented themselves without permission, they would not be really receiving ordination, as he should withhold his intention in regard to them. Obviously this case is not in point. The bishop acted wrongly, and was reprimanded by the Pope for his conduct; still he did not withhold his intention secretly, but took pains that all should know what he was doing, and this precisely in order that the consequences might be regulated, as in fact they were. Occasionally we read stories of apostate priests assuring Protestant clergymen that it had been their custom to withhold intention secretly when administering sacraments. Such cases have this advantage over the one just considered, that they are relevant; but we really cannot attach importance to accounts of past experiences given by apostate priests to credulous Protestants whom they wish openly to please and for whom they usually feel an internal contempt. Such stories leave us exactly where we were before; namely, with the conviction that in view of the scrupulous watchfulness of the Church on the one hand and the propensity of the human will not to act without a motive on the other, cases of malpractice by withholding intention, if they have occured at all, have occurred but rarely.

Still even one such malpractice might lead to a far-reaching breach in the succession, and undoubtedly we could not rest satisfied had we not a further and fuller ground of assurance lying underneath. Let it be remembered that we are both, Anglicans and Catholics, convinced on other grounds that our Lord instituted an Apostolic Succession, to be continued by unbroken transmission through the ages. Now since this Apostolic Succession is His institution, He must have bound Himself to sustain it throughout the time which He prescribed for its endurance, that is till the end of the world. Indeed we have an express assurance that He has undertaken this: for He gave His promise in the words "Lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world." To the keeping of this promise the indefectibility of the Catholic Church is confessedly due, and in the indefectibility of the Church

is included the indefectibility of the Apostolic Succession. That the promise has been made good in regard to the external aspects of the Church's life, is a fact falling under observation. Kingdoms and dynasties have risen and fallen during the nineteen Christian centuries, but the Church founded on the Rock of Peter has outlived them all, and is still in the unimpaired vigour of her youth. And if in externals her indefectibility is so conspicuous, we have in this an assurance, in confirmation of our faith, that the selfsame Divine promise has been similarly fulfilled in regard to the internal constituents of her supernatural life; and therefore in regard to her Apostolic Succession. Here then we find at last the sure and unimpeachable basis for confidence in our sacramental system

If we next ask how this special Providence, or "assistentia" (as it is technically called), works, in the first place we must not forget to attribute to its action that unfailing spirit of scrupulous watchfulness on the part of the Church which, as we have already seen, eliminates so many sources of risk. When we pass beyond this, while we have faith to satisfy us of the *fact*, we have only devout inferences to indicate to us the *manner* in which the consequences of incidental misadventure will have been prevented. But we may safely affirm this, that the special providence will meet by preventing them such defects, as, if they occurred, would undermine the system: whilst where no far-reaching results would ensue from the defect it may perhaps permit it to occur, and be satisfied with compensating for the loss done to a soul in some other way. Thus when it is the case of a particular Mass or absolution it might be sufficient to interpose in the second of these two ways, and give grace or forgive sin independently of the sacrament; where the miscarriage is in the consecration of a bishop, or, let us say, in the baptism of one destined afterwards to be a bishop, that is to say, where the miscarriage would be of a kind to produce far-reaching breaks to the Apostolic Succession, we may infer without hesitation that the Divine supervision would be exercised in the first way; our Lord, not

desiring His own system to break down, would then either constrain the consecrator (or the baptizer) to supply the needful intention, or else would Himself impart the gift of Orders (or of Baptism) to the candidate.

If we bear in mind this unimpeachable ground of security, we shall not be terrified by the specious calculations of Chillingworth and Lord Macaulay, to which Cardinal Newman thus refers

"Lord Macaulay . . . begins by laying down, first, that whether an Anglican [or, let us say, a Catholic] clergyman 'be a priest by succession from the Apostles depends on the question whether, during that long period, some thousands of events took place, any one of which may, without any gross impropriety, be supposed not to have taken place;' and next, 'that there is not a tittle of evidence for any one of these events.' Then after various vivid illustrations of his argument, he ends by a reference to Chillingworth's 'very remarkable words,' as he calls them,—'that of ten thousand probables no one should be false, that of ten thousand requisites, whereof any one may fail, not one should be wanting;' this to me is extremely improbable, and even cousin-german to impossible" (*Essays Critical and Historical*, Vol. II: note on Essay IX., p. 86, Edition of 1871).

In the same way it might be argued against Papal Infallibility that with so many Popes, and so many occasions for authoritative public utterance, the chances of some error having been made, during the nineteen centuries, are enormous. But in both cases the argument is futile, because it fails to take into account the Divine promise. Our Lord, having pledged Himself to maintain intact His own institutions of Papal Infallibility and Apostolic Succession, will secure them against the accidents which, under other circumstances, would in human probability have long since wrought their destruction

Enough has now been said to calm the disquietude of any Catholics, if such there be, who have been misled by Dr. Littledale's specious retort. But can

Anglicans appropriate to themselves the ground of security which we have discovered in our Lord's promise to sustain the Apostolic Succession in His Church? Before dealing with this question, I should like once more, in view of the inattentive mode of reading now so common, to point out that Anglicans, not Catholics, have imported into the discussion of Anglican Orders this particular aspect of the Doctrine of Intention. It is not, as we have seen, involved in the reasoning by which we seek the true interpretation of Barlow's intention. It was first introduced by Anglicans for the purpose of their irrelevant retort. Still the question is before them now, and it is right that they should appreciate its bearings upon their position. This is what Cardinal Newman says on the subject:—

"Catholics believe their Orders are valid because they are members of the true Church; and Anglicans believe they belong to the true Church because their Orders are valid. . . . In other words, our Apostolic descent is to us a theological inference, and not primarily a doctrine of faith; theirs to them is a first principle of controversy, and a patent matter of fact, the credentials of their mission. That they can claim to have God's ministers among them, depends directly and solely on the validity of their Orders; and to prove their validity, they are bound to trace their succession through a hundred intermediate steps till at length they reach the Apostles; till they do this their claim is in abeyance. If it is improbable that the Succession has no flaws in it, they have to bear the brunt of the improbability; for if it is presumable that a special providence precludes such flaws, or compensates for them, they cannot take the benefit of that presumption to themselves; for to do so would be claiming to belong to the true Church, to which that high providence is promised, and this they cannot do without arguing in a circle, first proving that they are of the true Church because they have valid Orders, and then that they have valid Orders because they are of the true Church. . . . We on our side, on the contrary, are not in such a dilemma as this. Our starting-point is not the

fact of the faithful transmission of Orders, but the standing fact of the Church, the Visible and One Church, the reproduction and succession of herself age after age. It is the Church herself that vouches for our Orders, while she authenticates herself to be the Church, not by our Orders, but by her Notes. It is the great Note of an ever-enduring *cœtus fidelium*, with a fixed organism and unity of jurisdiction, a political greatness, a continuity of existence, in all places and times, a suitableness to all classes, ranks, and callings, an ever-energizing life, an untiring, ever-evolving history, which is her evidence that she is the creation of God, and the representative and home of Christianity." *

Cardinal Newman's words are always persuasive in their eloquence, and it is seldom that one remains unconvinced by the weight of their reasoning. At the same time in this passage I think he carries his argument too far; and, if I am right, he would be among the first to desire that it should not be pressed; he always set us such an example of scrupulous fairness. My difficulty is this. The fact of a consistent and persistent practice in the Catholic Church is for Catholics the strongest possible evidence that it is justifiable. Yet if a Russian 'Orthodox' priest, or a Dutch Jansenist priest, were to enter the Catholic Church, his Orders would be recognised without difficulty. If he were otherwise suitable, he would be dispensed from 'suspension' and 'irregularity,' and at once be allowed to officiate. This means that the Catholic Church does not think it necessary to allow for flaws, such as according to Cardinal Newman's argument are to be feared in the Orders, in other respects valid, of a schismatic church

What then are we to say of the Cardinal's argument—which is certainly sound in its general contention—that the promise of indefectibility, on which the security of the Apostolic Succession rests, is a promise to the Catholic Church, and to her exclusively? It seems to me we may answer thus. The Apostolic Succession

* *Ibid.* p. 88.

was an institution given to the Catholic Church and is sustained, according to the terms of the promise, for her sake. But if our Lord undertook to sustain it, we must infer that He meant to sustain it on the lines of its institution; that is, on the lines of transmission through the power of order independently of the sanction of valid jurisdiction. It follows that the promise will attend the power of order, even when, through the wickedness of men, it is carried outside the Church for whose sake it was instituted; not indeed, for the sake of those rebellious persons or their schismatic communions, but for the sake of the same Catholic Church, in whose interest the original institution was laid on these lines.

So far all is common doctrine. The Church undoubtedly teaches that when a priest, even though he be a schismatic, has received the power of Order, and with due observance of matter, form, and internal intention, administers a sacrament, the sacrament is valid, in virtue of our Lord's promise to work through the instrumentality of His minister. The only question is whether the promise which certainly goes thus far, does not go further still, and guarantee the continuance of the succession even in a schismatic body, not indeed against overt and general neglect of essential conditions, but against the possible secret withholdings of internal intention of which we are speaking. For the reasons given it seems to me there is ground for inferring that the promise does go thus far, although, with Cardinal Newman's passage in view, I only venture to put the idea forward as an opinion. If it represents the truth, so far Anglicans are safe from the bomb-shell which they themselves have discharged. Or rather they would be safe if they had had any valid orders to start with, but this is just what, owing to Barlow's defective kind of intention (not lack of intention), and other reasons, we do not believe they have.

# THE CARTHUSIAN MARTYRS.

By Dom Lawrence Hendriks,
*Monk of the same Order.*

England has reason to be proud that one of her land was the first martyr of the white-robed children of St. Bruno. This glorious hero, John Houghton, was also the first to witness by his death against the sacrilegious usurpation by Henry VIII. of St. Peter's powers, and St. Peter's prerogatives. He is also the Protomartyr of the pretended Reformation of the sixteenth century, being the first of all who died for conscience' sake, when Henry VIII. robbed England of her ancient faith. He was born in Essex, about the year 1487, of a good family, and was still a boy when he was sent to the University of Cambridge, he was only about twenty years old when, after taking his degree of Bachelor of Laws, he returned home. His parents wanted him to make what would have been a very suitable marriage. He had however already determined to be a priest; and fearful of opposition he left his home without bidding farewell to any one. He was kindly received by a pious ecclesiastic, who allowed John to stay in his house, and who helped him to prepare for Holy Orders. When he was ordained priest, John Houghton returned home. His action was readily forgiven, and he remained with his parents for four years. There he exercised with great devotion the sacred functions of the priesthood, and edified all who knew him by his holiness.

The life of a secular priest in the midst of the family circle could not, however, satisfy the cravings of John Houghton's fervent soul. He sought a state of closer union with God, and of more complete detachment from created things, than was practicable there. He had recourse to prayer, and obtained the inestimable blessing of a call to the Carthusian Order. He presented himself as a postulant at the London Charterhouse,* and after a long period of trial he received the white habit

* All Carthusian Monasteries in England bore the name of Charterhouse. The word is a corruption of *Chartreuse*, the name of the wild mountain solitude in which St. Bruno founded the Order in the eleventh century.

of St. Bruno from the hands of Prior Tynbygh. One year later, probably in 1516, John Houghton made his profession of solemn vows. He was then twenty-nine years old.

For more than seven years he dwelt peacefully in his cell as a simple monk; and by the generous observance of the Rule, a sure method of acquiring a sublime degree of perfection, and under the guidance of the saintly Tynbygh, John Houghton became the man of God he afterwards showed himself to be. Space will not allow us to enter into minute details regarding Carthusian life; yet to one who knows nothing of the subject it may be interesting to learn that the "cell" in which John Houghton dwelt was a little cottage, complete in itself, with a small garden and a place for taking exercise. There was the workshop below, and on the first floor the cell proper, furnished with a stall and prie-dieu for saying Office and other devotions, bed, study-table and book-shelves; it served also as a refectory for meals, which are generally taken there in solitude. Here John Houghton spent the greater part of his time in contemplation, and in prayer for himself and for others, in study, and in manual labour. He rose every night to sing God's praises in the choir in the presence of the Blessed Sacrament, and performed the various acts of devotion and of mortification which are prescribed by the Rule, or were permitted by his Prior. A few lines from Maurice Chauncy, a monk who knew John Houghton very well, will give us a glimpse of his hidden life in the cloister of the London Charterhouse: "There," he says, "he spent twenty years of religious life in great austerity, in perfect humility, with admirable patience, in entire self-abnegation. He was a most exact observer of the rules regarding solitude and silence, striving always to hide himself, and concealing most carefully any special graces with which he was favoured. He dreaded nothing more than to become known, and was ever desirous of being forgotten or deemed unworthy of esteem."

Notwithstanding his efforts to remain hidden and unknown, John Houghton was at length obliged by holy obedience to become an "officer" in the Charterhouse. The duties of Sacristan, which he had to

perform during five years, were not very distasteful to him, for he deemed it a great honour to be ever busy with all that regards the sacred ministry of the altar. He also found in this office many an opportunity of rendering little services to his brethren, and of humbling himself before them. As Sacristan, moreover, he was able to satisfy his tender devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, part of his duty being to recite in the church all the Offices which the other monks said in their cells. His various duties did not bring him in contact with the outside world, for even the church, excepting the visitors' gallery, which was only for men, was quite private. Week after week he took his walk with his brethren, but he had never entered the city of London since he had become a Carthusian. Though the Charterhouse was only just outside the walls, the monks always directed their steps towards the country. When however, as it fell out, John was appointed Procurator of the monastery, he had to appear in public and to lead a life of comparative distraction; and it will easily be understood that the saintly monk accepted that office with a heavy heart. He regretted the peaceful solitude he was leaving. He feared the dangers to which the performance of his new duties would expose him. But his virtue was more solid than his humility would allow him to suppose; and as Procurator he became more useful to his neighbour, without injury to his personal holiness. In the streets of London, as in the silent cloister, he knew how to commune with God; and so well did he combine the contemplative life with the active, that he performed well all the duties of his office without ever forgetting the one thing necessary.

Father John Houghton had been Procurator about three years when he was appointed Prior of the Charterhouse of Beauvale in Nottinghamshire. He bade farewell to his brethren, and went where obedience called him, little thinking that he would soon return to London, there to receive new dignities, and to undergo terrible trials and sufferings, and gain the palm of martyrdom.

Father Batmanson, who a few years before had succeeded the saintly Tynbygh as Prior of the London Charterhouse, died in November, 1531, and Father

Houghton was elected to replace him by his former companions. Thus only six month had elapsed since his departure for Beauvale, and he was back once more to govern the House in which he had made his vows. In the following spring, the General Chapter of the Order, held at the Grande Chartreuse, named him Visitor of the English Province. So in spite of all his efforts to live hidden and unknown in his cloister cell, John Houghton found himself at the head of the Carthusians in England. In this position his virtues shone forth in all their beauty, especially his deep humility. Honours in no way elated him. On the contrary, in the marks of respect and submission prescribed by the Rule or by the customs of the Order, he found an occasion of confusion. He did not refuse these honours: he knew his duty too well for that. But he used, as he told the monks, to pray God to receive them to the glory of His holy Name. He took the same care as when he was a simple monk to conceal all that was extraordinary in his gifts and virtues. There was one gift, however, which he could not hide. At the holy altar, or while assisting at the conventual Mass, sweet tears of love and compunction would often be seen trickling down his cheeks. Sometimes even in the refectory, where the monks dine together on festivals, his heart was so full of the sentiments of Divine love that he was unable to refrain from weeping. Yet there was no feebleness in John Houghton's character. He possessed that firmness which is so necessary in the head of a large community: he even knew how to be severe when he deemed it his duty.

His zeal with regard to the proper performance of the Divine Office was most remarkable. He also showed a great love for the spirit of holy poverty; and in this and in other respects he not only maintained the discipline of the Charterhouse up to the level at which Priors Tynbygh and Batmanson had left it, but even raised it still higher. Documents preserved among the State Papers in London, as well as the writings of the monk Dom Maurice Chauncy, show that when the storm of persecution broke on the London Charterhouse it was in all respects a model monastery. It must not, however, be supposed that John Houghton reformed the Charterhouse. Had

he not found it in good condition, his short period of office of three years and a half, and that in such times, could have done but little. A great deal is due to the valiant Irishman Dom William Tynbygh, who was Prior for twenty-nine years, and who had given the habit to John Houghton and to most of his monks, and had schooled them in religious and monastic perfection. It may be said that the pious and wise Tynbygh had planted; the learned Batmanson had watered; and God gave the increase in the glorious martyrs of the Charterhouse, who were armed for the combat with the breastplate of prudence, the shield of piety, and the sword of learning. Had all the clergy, secular and regular, been like the Carthusians of London on the eve of the Reformation, King Henry VIII.'s work of destruction never could have been carried out, and England would have retained her ancient faith; for even so bold a tyrant as Henry, would not have dared to put so many to death.

The various religious houses were far from being in the state of relaxation which history, written with a purpose, has endeavoured to make us believe. Most of the horrors so often repeated, and received as authentic, even by some Catholics, are now known to be untrue; and for this we are indebted, in a great measure, to the labours of Father Gasquet, O.S.B. Yet it is only too true that many of the inmates of the religious houses of England fell sadly short of what God requires of those who profess to have renounced the world, and who are bound by solemn vows to tend towards perfection; and that many even of the bishops and priests had grown cold and careless in the service of God, and were setting their hearts on earthly things. And when the clergy are found wanting, great things cannot be expected of the laity. A severe trial of faith and constancy was coming, and the devil was everywhere at work preparing for a signal victory—the separation of a great nation from the unity of the Catholic Church.

Such then was the condition of the London Charterhouse, and such very briefly was the state of affairs, when, at the beginning of 1533, King Henry VIII. resolved to rebel against the authority of the Holy See. He had set his heart upon Anne Boleyn's being his

wedded wife, and he saw clearly that the Pope would never grant the divorce he required from his lawful bride Queen Catharine of Arragon. The cause had now been pending at Rome for no less than five years, and had his Holiness seen his way to decide it according to Henry's wishes, there could have been no reason for so long a delay. So, in a word, Henry made up his mind to act without the Pope. Accordingly, he was privately married to Anne Boleyn. Dr. Roland Lee, afterwards made by Henry Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, performed the sacrilegious ceremony. Soon after, Cranmer, the new Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced the marriage between King Henry and Catharine of Arragon null and invalid from the very beginning, and declared that Henry and Anne had been joined together in lawful wedlock. For the purpose of preventing all discussion and criticism of this unhallowed union and the legitimacy of its issue, an Act of Parliament was passed, under which anything of the kind would be very severely punished. The Act declared that a person speaking against the marriage, or seeking to cast a doubt on its validity, whether in words, writing, print, or deed, should be guilty either of treason or misprision of treason, as the case might be; and that all persons above sixteen years of age should be bound, when called upon, to take the oath of obedience to the statute, under the penalty of misprision of treason.

This Act of Parliament brought the Carthusians into trouble. The position of their monastery, just under the walls of London, the very good reputation they enjoyed, and the custom of the citizens to resort to them for spiritual advice and to assist at the Divine Office, all made it expedient that the monks should either be forced to aid the king in his rebellion against God and the Holy See, or else should be made examples of the royal anger. Accordingly the Commissioners, Roland Lee, and Thomas Bedyll, Archdeacon of Cornwall, paid a visit to the Charterhouse in the April of 1534. They called upon the Prior to give his formal approval to the King's new marriage, and to acknowledge the rights of its issue. John Houghton answered that to meddle with the King's business did

not belong to his vocation, nor to that of his monks, and that it did not concern them whom the King might wish to divorce or to marry, provided they were not asked to give their opinion. The Commissioners were dissatisfied with this reply. They ordered the community to be assembled, and bade the Prior to swear solemnly and without dissimulation that he and all present considered the King's marriage with Catharine of Arragon to have been null, and the union with Anne Boleyn valid and lawful. Fealty to the future children of the new Queen was also to be sworn. The Prior said that he could not understand how the former marriage, solemnized according to the rites of the Church, and so long unquestioned, could now have become unlawful. This observation, made in the presence of the community, was deemed a serious offence; and Prior Houghton and his Procurator, now known to us as Blessed Humphrey Middlemore, were committed to the Tower. They remained in prison for a month; but then, acting on the advice of some distinguished and learned friends who told them that the succession to the crown was not a question for which one ought to die, they took the oath with the reservation —"as far as the law of God permits." They were released and returned to the Charterhouse.

The joy of the monks at seeing their holy Prior once more in their midst was moderated by the fear that a similar concession would soon be demanded of them, and they doubted whether they ought to make it. They were determined, on the one hand, not to compromise their consciences, while, on the other, they trembled at the thought of the consequences of resisting the royal will. They looked to their Prior for advice and guidance, and were ready, should he order it, to refuse the oath whatever might be the consequences. "Our hour has not yet come, dear brothers," replied Father Houghton to the inquiries of his monks. "The very night that Father Procurator and I were set free from prison, I dreamt that I was not to escape so soon, but within a year I should be brought back to that prison, and that then I should complete my course. So, though I have not much confidence in dreams, I think that something else will soon be proposed to us. Meanwhile let us

continue to live together as long as we can do so without offending God by any unlawful concession."

A few days elapsed, and the Commissioners came to demand the oaths of the community. Six of the professed monks of the Charterhouse, including the Prior and the Procurator who had already consented in the Tower, took the oath. The remainder were not yet persuaded that a concession so injurious to Queen Catharine and her daughter was lawful and expedient. Moreover, if the form of oath drawn up two months before was really proposed to them, which is not quite certain, it contained, to say the least, a suggestion of rebellion against the authority of the Holy See. So Lee and Bedyll were obliged to retire without having fully gained their end. This was the second time the Commissioners had met with resistance at the Charterhouse; and it was decided that if they should again be baffled, all the delinquents should be cast into prison. Accordingly Lee returned a week later, accompanied this time by Sir Thomas Kitson, the sheriff; and with him a number of constables, ready to arrest the monks should they prove contumacious. The monks, seeing that their holy Prior was convinced that they ought not to resist unto blood until a clear denial of the Catholic faith was demanded of them, determined to take the oath under the condition, *as far as it was lawful*. The community now rejoiced in the hope of having satisfied the King, and of being able to continue to serve God in peace and retirement. But they were mistaken. The Prior's dream in his prison cell was to be realized, and all were to choose between martyrdom and offence against their God.

Henry VIII. had at length fallen into open and flagrant heresy, and determined to sever his kingdom from Catholic unity by declaring himself sole head of the Church of England. When Parliament met in November, 1534, the saving clause, *quantum per Dei legem licet*, inserted by the Convocations of Canterbury and York in their acknowledgment of the royal supremacy, was swept away; and it was declared, without any condition, that the King, his heirs and successors, should be taken and reputed the only supreme heads on earth of the Church of England, with

full power to visit, reform, and correct all such errors, heresies, abuses, contempts, and enormities, which by any manner of spiritual authority ought to be reformed or corrected. It was, moreover, made treason to wish or will maliciously by word or writing, or to attempt by craft, any bodily harm to the King or Queen or their heirs, or to deprive any of them of the dignity, style, and name of their royal estates, or slanderously and maliciously to publish or pronounce, by words or writing, that the King was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or infidel. Thus it became high treason to deny the King's title of head of the Church of England, and consequently any one who dared to publicly profess the Catholic religion was in danger of being put to death.

These new laws came into force on the 1st of February, 1535; and Prior John Houghton, who knew he would soon have to give his opinion, consulted Father Fewterer, the Confessor-General of the Bridgettine convent of Syon on the Thames. Fewterer encouraged him in his resolution to die rather than deny the Catholic faith by accepting the spiritual supremacy of the King. On his return to the Charterhouse, the Prior called the monks together in the chapter house, and told them that very probably every one of them would be called upon to renounce his religion, or else to suffer a cruel and ignominious death.

The news struck terror into the hearts of the monks. Then the holy Prior addressed them to the following effect:—"I am very sad indeed, and my heart is heavy, chiefly on account of our younger brethren, of whom there are so many in this monastery. You see, brethren, what pious and innocent lives these young monks lead in our midst. But their virtue has never been tried by any unusual temptation; and it is to be feared that, being cast out upon the world, they will be ruined by its bad example; for 'evil communications corrupt good manners,' and 'he that toucheth pitch shall be defiled with it.' Then there may be others amongst us, whose virtue is not solid enough to bear the dangers of the world. And what shall I say, dear brethren, and what shall I do, if I lose any of those whom God has intrusted to my care?" Several of the monks shed tears, and all protested that they were ready

to die for the faith. "Would to God that it might be so!" said the Prior, "and that thus one common death might render to us eternal life, as one common life has rendered us dead to the world. But I do not think our persecutors will do us so great a kindness, nor themselves so great an injury. It seems more probable that, several of you belonging to distinguished families, they will slay me and some of the senior monks, and let the young men go free to return to the world which they had renounced. If therefore it depends on me alone, I will consent to the King's will, provided it be lawful, or else die in order to preserve my brethren from the many and great dangers to which they will be exposed. But if an unconditional consent of the whole community should be required and my death will not suffice, God's will be done. O that all may have courage for the sacrifice!" Here the Prior's voice faltered, and he became exceedingly troubled, probably because he foresaw that some of the monks would not prove equal to the trial, and be found ready to lay down their lives for the faith. However, he soon recovered something of his wonted calm, and said that all should prepare for death by a solemn *triduum*, or three days' prayer. On the first day he desired that all would make a general confession, and, in order to facilitate this, he granted faculties to every priest in the house. The second day, he told them, would be the day of mutual reconciliation. And on the last day, he added, a votive Mass of the Holy Ghost would be sung to obtain grace to do and to suffer whatever might be required of them.

The scene in the chapter house on the second day was a very touching one. After a long and appropriate sermon, in which he dwelt particularly on charity, patience under trial, and fidelity to God even unto death, Prior Houghton said, "Dear Fathers and Brothers, I beg you to do as I do." Then, rising from his seat, he knelt down before each monk separately, from the senior who sat at his side to the last of the lay brothers, craving forgivness of anything whereby he might have offended or pained him. All present followed the example set by their holy Prior, each imploring pardon from every one of his brethren. Chauncy was there; and he tells us that many shed tears, but no

one was so sad as the Prior. He was like Rachel weeping for her children, and refusing to be comforted. It was not, we may rest assured, the fear of being called upon to die for our holy faith that wrung his heart, but the thought of what was coming upon his monastery, his Order, and his country, and above all the presentiment of the defection of some of the monks committed to his care.

On the last day of the triduum, the Prior sang the Mass of the Holy Ghost, and during that Mass God granted to his faithful servants a special grace to aid and strengthen them in the troubles that were coming upon them. After the Elevation of the Sacred Host, there came a soft whisper of air, which some perceived with their bodily senses, while all experienced its sweet influence upon their hearts. Father Houghton was so overcome by this singular manifestation of God's presence in their midst that for some time he was unable to continue the Mass. It appears that the lay brothers did not assist at this Mass; but some of them who happened to be in the chapels near the choir were also partakers in this signal favour. The Prior alluded to this grace at their next meeting in the chapter house, and he told the monks to redouble their fervour in the service of God, to persevere in prayer, in humility, and in filial fear of offending God even by the smallest faults. Nor were his exhortations in vain. Every night after Matins the monks would prostrate themselves before our Lord in the Most Holy Sacrament, and pray for the preservation of their monastery and the safety of their beloved Prior. John Houghton, in his sweet humility, attributed all their troubles to his own shortcomings, saying with the royal Prophet: "It is I; I am he that have sinned, I have done wickedly; these that are the sheep, what have they done? Let Thy hand, I beseech Thee, be turned against me."

While the Carthusians of London were thus preparing themselves for the worst, two Priors from other houses of the English Province came to the Charterhouse to consult their Father Visitor and to console him in those troublous times. So they thought; but in reality they came because God vouchsafed to count them worthy to mingle their blood with that of Blessed

John Houghton on the day on which the crimson line was drawn, which separates the ancient faith of England, held by Bede and Cuthbert, Edmund and Thomas, and thousands more, from that by law established by a servile Parliament at the bidding of Henry VIII. One of these two Priors was Robert Lawrence, a professed monk of London, formed to religious life in the school of William Tynbygh, and John Houghton's successor in the Priorate at Beauvale; the other was Augustine Webster, Prior of the Charterhouse in Axholme, and professed monk of Sheen in Surrey.

These two guests soon learnt that the danger which threatened the London Charterhouse was daily becoming more imminent, for the King, on being told of the intended refusal of the monks to accept his new laws, had become furious. They therefore agreed, in company with Father Houghton, to wait upon Thomas Cromwell, the King's chief secretary, a step which the London Prior thought desirable.

The three Priors were received but roughly. They saw from the beginning of the interview that Cromwell was prejudiced against them. John Houghton however begged leave to ask three questions of Cromwell, of Latimer, and of another doctor, who happened to be with him. The first query was, that as our Lord gave power to men upon earth by the words, "And to thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven," nor did any Doctor of the Church ever understand this to be addressed to any other than to St. Peter, then the Apostles, and through them to the Popes and Bishops,—how could the King, a layman, be head of the Church of England? Cromwell replied, "You would make the King a priest then?" and bade him speak no further. The two other questions, through Cromwell's impatience, were never asked. The one that had been asked was deemed sufficient for a charge of treason; and, without any further evidence, the three Priors were taken off to the Tower. It will be noticed that Priors Lawrence and Webster had not said a word; so that even supposing John Houghton's question to be treasonable, there was no evidence whatever against them. Yet they were kept in confinement, suffering all the hardships which prison meant in those days, from the 30th of March until the 20th of April. This was strange justice.

At last Cromwell thought to remedy this irregularity regarding their detention, not by setting them free, but by making out a charge against them. Accordingly they were summoned to the "Rolls" to undergo an interrogatory. The document, which is still in the Public Record Office in London, runs thus:—

"Interrogatory ministered by the right honourable Mr. Thomas Cromwell, chief secretary of the King's highness, unto Robert Lawrence, Prior of Beauvale, and Augustine Webster, Prior of Hexham [Axholme], and to either of them, with their answers to the same. Whether they or either of them would be content obediently to obey the King's highness as supreme head on earth under Christ of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and him so to repute, take, and accept; and to refuse all other potentate and powers, God's only power except, according to the statute in that behalf made. Robert Lawrence, Prior of Beauvale, answered to the said question, that he could not consent nor believe that the King's highness is supreme head of the Church of England according to the statute in that behalf made. Augustine Webster, Prior of Hexham, answered likewise to the said question, that he could not consent nor believe that the King's highness is supreme head of the Church of England according to the statute in that behalf made." The deed is attested by John ApRice, the notary, in the presence of Cromwell, Bedyll, and several others.

The two Priors, having thus refused to renounce their religion, were remanded to the Tower, where they were joined by Blessed Richard Reynolds, of the Order of St. Bridget. A few days later, Cromwell and the Royal Commissioners visited the prisoners. They brought with them a copy of the Act of Parliament under which it was intended to condemn them if they should refuse to take the oath of supremacy. The Fathers said they were ready to consent to all that the law of God permitted, and as far as it permitted. "I admit no exception," said Cromwell. "Whether the law of God permit it or no, you shall take the oath without any reserve whatsoever, and shall observe it too." The prisoners objected that the Catholic Church had always taught the contrary to what was set forth in the Act of

Parliament. "I don't care about the Church," was Cromwell's reply; "will you submit to the law or not?" The prisoners answered that the fear of God would not allow them to disobey or to abandon the Church, seeing that St. Augustine says that he would not believe even the Gospel if the holy Catholic Church did not teach him to do so. This is the substance of the conversation which took place, as Chauncy gives it in Latin, and the State Papers show that instead of the signature of the prisoners, which would be on the document had they consented, the following endorsements were made:—"John Houghton says he cannot take the King, our sovereign, to be supreme head of the Church of England afore the Apostles of Christ's Church. Robert Lawrence says that there is one Catholic Church and one Divine, of which the Bishop of Rome is the head; therefore he cannot believe that the King is supreme head of the Church. Augustine Webster says that he cannot [take] the King, our sovereign lord, to be supreme head of the Church, but him that is by the docto[rs of] the Church taken head of the Church, that is, the Bishop of Rome."

These declarations, made by the Carthusian Priors in the Tower of London, on the 26th of April, 1535, were deemed sufficient to serve as the ground of a charge of high treason. All the papers regarding the public trial, which took place at Westminster on the 28th and 29th of the same month, are fortunately preserved among the State Papers, and may be seen in the Public Record Office. These papers prove beyond a doubt that the blessed servants of God, Houghton, Lawrence, and Webster were not accused of any other crime than that of refusing to renounce the Catholic faith by ascribing to the King a title and powers which our Divine Lord has given to St. Peter and to his successors in the Apostolic See. We read that "treacherously machinating and desiring to deprive the King of his title as supreme head of the Church of England, [they] did, 26th April, 27 Henry VIII., at the Tower of London, openly declare and say: 'The King, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head on earth of the Church of England.'" Burnet's assertion, in his *History of the Reformation*, that no one suffered for not swearing to the King's

supremacy is therefore utterly false; and he is wrong to accuse "the historians of the popish side" of "calumny" and of "impudent falsehood" when they affirm that many were put to death for that sole reason.

The prisoners pleaded *not guilty*—that is to say not guilty of treason; for, far from denying the refusal to abandon their religion, they asserted again in Westminster Hall that on no account could they be persuaded to do anything contrary to the law of God or the Church. The verdict of the jury being deferred until the following day, the prisoners returned to the Tower.

We read in Chauncy's *Historia*, and in an old manuscript in the British Museum, how the jury were not able to agree to condemn these saintly monks. Yet they knew that on the following morning they would be expected to find a verdict of *guilty*. They spent several hours in consultation, but it appeared impossible for them to pass judgment of death, for there was evidently no malice in the prisoners. Cromwell, fearing that his victims might escape, sent to ascertain what verdict the jury intended to return. They replied that they could not pronounce such holy men worthy of the death of criminals. The messenger soon returned with Cromwell's threat: "If you do not find them guilty, you yourselves shall die the traitor's death." Still the jury held out, and Cromwell seemed on the point of losing his prey. He therefore went in person to intimidate them by cruel threats. This time he was successful, and the jury promised to find the accused guilty of high treason. Mr. Froude does not believe this story, chiefly because "the conduct attributed to Cromwell is inconsistent with his character." There is, however, quite enough in the State Papers to show that Cromwell was not such a gentle and merciful man as Mr. Froude supposes; and he took so much to heart the resistance of the Carthusians that it was often difficult to "get him in a good mood" for any other business. (*Calendar of State Papers, IX.* 950.)

There is no record of any defence made by the three Carthusian Priors. Probably they imitated our Lord by keeping silence. The monks were found guilty of high treason, and condemned to be hanged, drawn, and

quartered, for refusing to forsake the religion in which they had been baptised and brought up, and which their fellow-countrymen had held for almost one thousand years. They returned to the dungeon in the Tower, which they were not destined again to quit until their day of sacrifice and of triumph at Tyburn. Cranmer is not noted for kindliness towards Catholics; yet even he made an attempt to prevent the execution of two of the first martyrs of King Henry's Reformation. He was personally acquainted with Fathers Webster and Reynolds; and he wrote to Cromwell in their behalf. "If," he says, "there is no other offence alleged against them (than that of offending against the late statute), it will much more tend to the conversion of others to convert their consciences by sincere doctrine, and so for them to publish it. If they were sent to me I suppose I could do much in their behalf." The Fathers were spared this fresh temptation, for Cromwell took no heed of the Archbishop's suggestion.

Tuesday, the 4th of May, 1535, was the day fixed for the execution. The streets and roads from the Tower to Tyburn were thronged with people, none of whom dared to show the least sign of sympathy; and between two long rows of wondering faces the martyrs of Jesus were dragged, lying on their backs upon hurdles drawn by horses; and—as an unheard of contempt in a hitherto Catholic country—they still wore their holy habits. Had the monks really been guilty of high treason, they should have been degraded, and then executed in secular clothing. But ecclesiastical law had no more force now that the King of England had become a pope. So onward went the strange procession; and now jolting over the rough stones, now splashing through deep puddles of filthy water, the servants of God made a weary and painful journey to Tyburn, where still more terrible things awaited them.

To Blessed John Houghton God was pleased to grant the signal honour of being the first since pagan times to suffer death in England for being a Catholic. After lovingly embracing the executioner, who craved his pardon, the holy martyr entered the cart which stood beneath the gallows; and there, in the sight of the multitude, he was asked once again whether he would

submit to the King's laws, before it was too late. Nothing daunted, he replied: "I call Almighty God to witness, and I beseech all here present to attest for me on the dreadful day of judgment, that, being about to die in public, I declare that I have refused to comply with the will of his majesty the King, not from obstinacy, malice, or a rebellious spirit, but solely for fear of offending the supreme Majesty of God. Our holy Mother the Church has decreed and enjoined otherwise than the King and the Parliament have decreed. I am therefore bound in conscience, and am ready and willing to suffer every kind of torture rather than deny a doctrine of the Church. Pray for me, and have mercy on my brethren, of whom I have been the unworthy Prior." He then asked for time to say his last prayer, which he took from the 30th Psalm: "In Thee, O Lord, have I hoped; let me never be confounded: deliver me in Thy justice. . . . Into Thy hands I commend my spirit; for Thou hast redeemed me, O Lord, the God of truth." Blessed John Houghton was now ready to meet death.

A thick rope had been chosen, for fear he might be strangled and expire too quickly. It was placed about his neck. The sheriff gave the signal. The cart was drawn aside; and the gentle monk, who had done good to many, and harm to none, was hanging like a malefactor from the gallows. Then came the worst part of the business, for no mercy was shown, and the hideous sentence was carried out in all its details. The rope was cut, and the body fell heavily on the ground; but John Houghton was not dead. They tore off his holy habit, and laid him on a plank or platform. The executioner inflicted a long and ghastly wound with a sharp knife, dragged out his entrails, and threw them into a fire prepared for the purpose. The poor sufferer was conscious the whole time; and while he was being embowelled he was heard to exclaim: "O most holy Jesus, have mercy upon me in this hour!" When at last the executioner placed his hand upon the heart to wrench it from its place, the blessed martyr spoke again. A German, Anthony Rescius, who afterwards became auxiliary Bishop of Würzburg, was close by. He overheard his last words: "Good Jesu! what will ye do

with my heart?" The struggle was over at last. John Houghton had been faithful unto death, and gained the crown of life.

The executions of the blessed servants of God, Augustine Webster, Robert Lawrence, Richard Reynolds, and of a secular priest named John Hale, followed that of Blessed John Houghton. Each as he entered the cart was offered a free pardon if he would renounce his religion; each preferred death to apostasy, and each was butchered in the same way as the Protomartyr. May they obtain, by their blood and by their intercession, the speedy return of their country to the faith for which they died!

The mangled bodies of the martyrs were beheaded, and divided in four parts, which were thrown into a chaldron to be parboiled, before being placed on London Bridge and at the various gates of the city. It appears that some subdividing took place, though the law did not provide for this, for it seems certain that an arm, and not a quarter, of Blessed John Houghton was placed over the entrance gate of the Charterhouse, in the hope that the remembrance of their Prior's fate would induce the other monks to yield.

The office of Prior of the Charterhouse was vacant, and according to the Rule of the Order the monks ought to have proceeded to an election. This, however, was impossible, for the monastery was closely watched, and it had been resolved to bring the monks to acknowledge the King's new title of head of the Church, or else to make them feel the full rigour of his cruel laws. Yet the daily round of prayer and praise went on as before. At the dead of night, in early morn, and at intervals throughout the day, the great bell still rang out for Office, for *Angelus*, for Holy Mass; and the community, save very few exceptions, were as fervent and resolute as ever. Humphrey Middlemore, the former Procurator, was now in charge as Vicar, and was aided by William Exmew, the new Procurator, who shortly before had been Vicar, and confessor of the martyred Prior. Sebastian Newdigate, a former favourite courtier of Henry VIII., now a fervent monk in the cloister of the Charterhouse, was associated with Middlemore and Exmew in the government of the monastery in those troublous days, and with

them he was destined to lay down his life for the truth. Nor had they long to wait for their trials to recommence. Bedyll visited the Charterhouse on the very day of the Prior's martyrdom; and two days later he wrote to Cromwell. His letter is still in the British Museum. "Please it you to understand," he writes, "that on Tuesday, forthwith upon my departure from you, I repaired to the Charterhouse, and had with me divers books and annotations, both of my own and others, against the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, and also of St. Peter, declaring evidently the equality of the Apostles by the law of God. And after long communication, more than one hour and a half, with the Vicar and Procurator of the house, I left those books and annotations with them. . ." Bedyll goes on to tell how, on the following day, the books and annotations were returned to him by a servant of the Charterhouse, without any explanation. He then sent for the Procurator, and asked him whether he and the Vicar and other senior monks had seen or heard the annotations, or perused the titles of the books. The Procurator answered that the Vicar, he, and Newdigate had spent the time upon them until nine or ten o'clock at night, "and that they saw nothing in them whereby they were moved to alter their opinion." After some further remarks Bedyll concludes as follows: —"Finally, I suppose it to be the will of God, that as their religion (*i.e.* Order) had a simple beginning, so in this realm it shall have a strange end, procured by themselves and by none other. And albeit they pretend holiness in their behalf, surely the ground of their said opinion is hypocrisy, vainglory, confederacy, obstinacy, to the intent they may be seen to the world, or specially to such as have confidence in them, more faithful and more constant than any other. . ."

Bedyll's letter soon produced its effect. Less than three weeks elapsed, and Fathers Middlemore, Exmew, and Newdigate were arrested. After being interrogated at Cromwell's house at Stepney, they were thrown into the Marshalsea, where they suffered most cruel tortures. They were bound in an upright position to posts, their necks, arms, and legs being held fast by iron chains; and orders were given that on no account should they be released even for a moment. It appears from the

writings of Chauncy, and of the antiquaries Camden and Stow, that they remained in this position from thirteen to fifteen days. The courage of Blessed Sebastian Newdigate was put to the test in a very special way. The King, who had been very fond of him, went in disguise to the prison, in order to persuade him to purchase his liberty and worldly prosperity by acknowledging the royal supremacy. Sebastian had been in chains for several days and had become extremely weak through suffering, but his holy soul had lost nothing to its former vigour. He answered the King very respectfully, thanking him for his kindness, and promising always to pray for him, but absolutely refused to take the oath. Some days later, when the prisoners had been removed from the Marshalsea to the Tower, the King, who happened to be there, renewed his assault upon the constancy of Sebastian. "Do you," he asked, "think yourself wiser and holier than all the clergy and laity of the kingdom, who have subscribed to my laws? For God's sake, give up this foolhardiness before it brings you to an untimely end. Take a lesson from the fate of those three Carthusians who suffered as traitors only the other day; for you may be sure that if you choose to imitate them in life, you shall shortly imitate them also in death." Sebastian Newdigate stood firm. He was ready to follow his Prior to Tyburn, and was ripe to join him in heavenly glory.

On Friday, the 11th of June, the three monks were brought to trial at Westminster. They had the honour of being included in the same indictment as Blessed Cardinal Fisher, though the prelate's trial was postponed for another week ". . . . that John Fisher," we read in the official documents, "did. . . openly declare in England: 'The King our sovereign lord is not supreme head on earth of the Church of England.' Also that Humphrey Middlemore, William Exmew, and Sebastian Newdigate, late monks of the Charterhouse, London, under the obedience of John Houghton, Prior, now deceased, did at Stepney, in the county of Middlesex, 25th May, 27 Henry VIII., each of them say to several of the King's true subjects: 'I cannot nor will consent to be obedient to the King's highness as a true, lawful, and obedient subject, to take and repute him to be the

supreme head on earth of the Church of England under Christ.'"

The three Carthusians were brought to the bar by Sir Edward Walsingham, deputy of Sir William Kingston, the constable of the Tower. They pleaded *not guilty* of high treason. Chauncy tells how they argued with the judges, showing by many texts from Holy Scripture that our Lord, having conferred the supreme Pontificate upon St. Peter and his successors, the King could have no right to be called head of the Church. But a Protestant author shall pronounce their panegyric. "These men," says Hall in his *Chronicle*, "when they were arraigned at Westminster, behaved themselves very stiffly and stubbornly; for, having heard their indictment read, how traitorously they had spoken against the King's majesty, his crown and dignity, they neither blushed nor bashed at it, but very foolishly and hypocritically acknowledged their treason, which maliciously they avouched, having no learning for their defence; but rather, being asked divers questions, they used a malicious silence, thinking as by their examinations afterward in the Tower of London it did appear, for so they said, that they thought those men, which was the lord Cromwell and other, that there sat upon them in judgment, to be heretics and not of the Church of God, and therefore not worthy to be either answered or spoken unto. And therefore, as they deserved, they received as you have heard before,"—that is, "were hanged, drawen, and quartred at Tyborne, and their quarters set up about London, for denying the Kyng to be supreme head of the Churche." From these words of one who was bitterly hostile to the Catholic religion and to all liberty of conscience, it may be gathered that the blessed servants of God were not ashamed of having refused to acknowledge the King's spiritual supremacy; and after nobly confessing and defending their faith, kept silence, lest, to use our Divine Lord's expression, they should be casting their pearls before swine.

The execution of these brave martyrs, William, Humphrey, and Sebastian, took place on the 19th of June. They were drawn to Tyburn, and there hanged, cut down alive, mutilated, ripped up, embowelled, beheaded, and quartered in the same brutal manner

in which their Prior had been butchered a few weeks before.

No more monks were, for the present, put to death; nobody was even cast into prison, but all were obliged to undergo a kind of slow persecution, in some respects more trying and more dangerous than the violent one which had gained the palm for their brethren. An apparently willing submission on the part of the community would have been a great victory for the King's men, and to bring this about every means was tried with the monks. Seculars were put in charge of the house; and as time went on their cruelty augmented, until at last the life of the monks became a burden almost too heavy to be borne. Yet, by God's grace, they bore it well.

A certain John Whalley seems to have been the first resident Commissioner, and evidently his chief business was the conversion of the monks to the new religion, by persuasion, privation, and threat. He tells Cromwell, in a letter, that the monks are "exceedingly superstitious, ceremonious, and pharisaical, and wonderfully addict to their old *mumpsimus*. Nevertheless," he adds, "better and more charitable it were to convert them, than to put them to the extremity of the law." He had already observed that the visits of a certain preacher, named Rastall, were of no use, because the monks laughed at all he said; he now suggests a plan to convert them. Cromwell is first to send some honest, learned, and loyal men to stay with the monks, and then let the Vicar of Croydon and some others who are known to have been Catholics preach to them "against their superstitious and pharisaical ceremonies, and the Pope's usurped power. And after all this to cause the Bishops of York, Winchester, Durham, Lincoln, Bath, and London, yea and divers other Bishops that be near at hand, in like manner to preach, for they have great consideration and trust in them, insomuch that some of them heretofore have said to me that these foresaid Bishops and divers others will not say nor yet think but for fear, that the King's grace should, or in any wise may, be supreme head of the Church of England." If all this should prove a failure, Whalley thinks the monks ought to be called before the whole nobility, temporal and spiritual, and sentenced according to law.

Whalley made himself quite at home in the Charterhouse. He gave orders that no one should enter the cloister, unless he brought with him Cromwell's token, or was known "to be of an honest sort." He made Cromwell a cheap present of some apples belonging to the monks. "If they like you," he says, "they shall be kept for you as long as they last, and [I will] provide for the convent almonds and figs accordingly." Whalley was soon joined by Jasper Fyloll; and these two appear to have been the seculars mentioned in Chauncy's history. "They pampered themselves," he says, "while the monks were allowed to suffer hunger and thirst. Taking away all substantial food, they portioned out to them a little cheese, or some such thing, as their daily pittance. Moreover, they brought into the monastery a number of wicked persons, who insulted and even struck us whenever they could get a chance. Others were appointed to watch us. We had, however, courage to fight, with Holy Scripture and sound reason for our arms, against the wicked King."

The seizure of the books was a well-aimed blow. The persecutors began by taking away "The Statutes of [St.] Bruno and such like doctors;" afterwards they deprived the monks of nearly all. But Chauncy tells us that when the religious were unable to study, they still found in prayer and meditation an inexhaustible source of wisdom; and though some of the community confounded their persecutors by learned arguments, a greater number fought still more successfully with holy innocence and simplicity for their arms. The constant visits of preachers, of Cromwell, and of Bedyll, were also very trying to the monks. Sometimes they would keep them so long in the chapter-house that Vespers and even Matins had to be postponed. The British Museum and the Record Office are rich in interesting papers regarding the Charterhouse at this time.

We learn from a letter of Fyloll's, that Blessed John Rochester was sent to Cranmer at the beginning of August, 1535, to undergo the process of conversion. The Archbishop could do nothing with him, and sent him back as staunch a Papist as ever. Rochester seems to have been considered the president of the community; and though there was no superior, and, as Chauncy

says, "each man's conscience was his Prior," still every effort was made to win him over to the King's side. "John Maidwell has been here," says Fyloll, "with Dom John Rochester, and had exhorted him to the best, but they could find no good towardness in him; but after an hour's communication they left him as they found him. Then I entreated Rochester and four or five of the monks to be contented to hear him preach one sermon among them, one day that week, wherewith they were then contented. But on the next day, when they had spoken to their other Brothers, they sent me word that I should not bring him among them, for if I did so they would not hear him, because they heard it tell of him that he preached against the honouring of images and of saints, and that he was a blasphemer of saints." . .

In April, 1536, William Trafford, a monk who, one year before, had boldly refused to renounce the faith, but who had since been persuaded to pass over to the King's side, was sent from Sheen to London to be the Prior there by royal appointment. His work was to coerce the religious into error, and bring about the surrender of the Charterhouse to the crown. In order to facilitate this work, it was thought expedient to send four monks, who seemed to be the chiefs of the opposition, to other houses of the Order, and to introduce others who had already yielded up their consciences. Two of those who thus left the London Charterhouse in May, 1536, were Blessed John Rochester and Blessed James Walworth, professed monks of London, and both of them in priest's orders.

We must follow them to the Charterhouse of Hull. Their sorrow must have been very keen when they found that, a few months before, the Prior of their new home had fallen into error and persuaded the community to imitate him. Lee, the Archbishop of York, claims the honour of having perverted him. "The Priors of Hull and Mount Grace," he writes to King Henry, "were sore bent rather to die than to yield to your royal style, but I have persuaded both to change their opinions." Soon after the arrival of the two monks from London, the Royal Commissioners visited the Charterhouse of Hull, and gave a favourable report. They do not mention

Rochester and Walworth, and they might possibly have remained unmolested had not Blessed John Rochester, in his zeal for his religion, and for the true welfare of his King and his country, offered to prove to the Duke of Norfolk, and several of the Council, "that the King's highness hath been deluded and deceived by them that have provoked and enticed his grace to take upon himself the authority of supreme head, and confessed his grace to be of right the only supreme head of the Church of England, next and immediately under God, and to have care and charge both of the body and soul." These words are from a letter in Rochester's hand, addressed to the Duke of Norfolk, in March, 1536. From a remark in that letter, it appears that he was deprived of sufficient nourishment as a punishment for his offer; for, while making bold to ask the favour of being admitted to the presence of the King in order to prove to him by Holy Scripture and by reason that his majesty had been deceived, he says: "and in the meantime to be ordered after the diet of my religion, that I may have convenient strength to make answers at such time as your grace shall call for me, for I am most commonly at all times very weak."

The Duke of Norfolk seems to have forwarded Rochester's letter to the Privy Council, who declared the monk a "rank traitor." Soon after, he and his companions were brought to trial before the Duke of Norfolk, who held his court at York. The fact that these two martyrs were tried by Norfolk, who had been sent to the North to quell the rising of the people in defence of their religion and their rights, has led some persons to suppose that they were put to death for having taken part in that "Pilgrimage of Grace." Even without Rochester's letter, only lately discovered, we have ample proof that they died solely for their fidelity to the Catholic faith; for the "true bill" found against them may be seen in the British Museum, and in it we read the cause of their condemnation: "They falsely, traitorously, and maliciously said and affirmed, that the aforesaid lord, the King, was not now supreme head on earth of the Church of England, but that the Bishop of Rome was, and is supreme head on earth of the same." They were found guilty, and condemned to die. The

execution took place at York, on the 11th of May, 1537, two years and one week after the martyrdom of Blessed John Houghton. Some mercy was shown towards these two martyrs, for instead of being butchered according to the letter of the law, they remained hanging until they were dead, and a long time after they were dead; for chains were used instead of ropes, and the bodies dangled from the gibbets of York until the flesh was consumed, and the bones fell to the ground.

The constant efforts of the Royal Commissioners, the dying declaration of Fewterer, the Confessor General of Sion, who had apostatised, and above all the influence of Trafford, the false Prior, at last began to produce their effect on the monks of the London Charterhouse. They began to be divided as to the question of further resistance. The triumph of tyranny was at hand. On the 18th of May, 1537, thirteen of Father Houghton's monks, making, with Trafford and six others sent from other houses, twenty in all, were found willing to swear to the royal supremacy. Chauncy tells us how they vainly endeavoured to quiet their consciences by a tacit protest against the oath which they took exteriorly. They pleaded as an excuse the straits to which their enemies had brought them. The threatened destruction of the Charterhouse, in case of continued resistance, formed the staple argument in favour of their weak and dishonest action.

These are doubtless extenuating circumstances; those under which Chauncy and Foxe fell later on are still more so; but Chauncy says: "In this we are not justified;" and he is right. They swore to "utterly renounce, refuse, relinquish, and forsake the Bishop of Rome, and his authority, power, and jurisdiction," and to "accept, repute, and take the King's majesty to be the only supreme head on earth of the Church of England." Thus, after resisting so bravely for so long a time, they followed the crowd in that dark hour of England's history, renouncing with their lips and by their signatures the religion to which in their hearts they still adhered. Chauncy and several others, we must observe in passing, repented, and died fervent Carthusians.

This sad story is but a sample of how men, right-minded and true, were forced to give in to the new creed forged by Henry and his cruel satellites.

The form of oath, with the twenty signatures, is followed by another instrument more pleasing to the heart of a Catholic: "Some of the convent, though frequently and earnestly requested and exhorted to take the same oath, contumaciously refused to do so." There were ten of them, and, as they have all received the honours of the Blessed, their names must be given in full. Three were professed cloister-monks and priests, Thomas Johnson, Richard Beer, and Thomas Green or Greenwood; one was a deacon, John Davy by name; and the remaining six were *conversi* or professed lay brothers, Robert Salt, William Greenwood, Thomas Reding, Thomas Scriven, Walter Pierson, and William Horn. Blessed Thomas Green or Greenwood had not been long a Carthusian. Like John Houghton and William Exmew, he was a graduate of the University of Cambridge, and had quite lately taken his degree of Doctor of Divinity. One of his contemporaries calls him "a famous martyr," and indeed it might almost be said of him that he joined the Carthusians when the persecution had already begun, in order to die with them rather than to live with them.

These ten recusants were arrested on the 29th of May, 1537, and cast into Newgate to suffer and to die. In a filthy dungeon, bound fast in iron chains, and kept without food, the martyrs would have been dead within a few days had it not been for the heroic courage of Margaret Clement, an adopted daughter of Blessed Thomas More. She bribed the gaoler in order to obtain access to them, and disguising herself as a milk-maid, she entered the prison with a pail full of food upon her head. "She fed that blessed company," we read, "putting meat into their mouths, they being tied and not able to stir, nor help themselves; which having done, she afterwards took from them their natural filth." At length the King, who, fearing the resentment of the people, wished the monks to die in prison and not by public execution, began to wonder why they were still alive. He ordered a closer guard to be kept over them, and Margaret could no longer persuade the gaoler to allow her to enter the dungeon. She managed, however, by force of bribes to get leave to go up on the roof, and removing some of the tiles she let down a basket of

food by means of a cord. This was dictated by her great desire to help the servants of God in their distress, but their hands and feet being fast chained, they could get but little out of the basket. Soon after, the gaoler, always afraid of being found out and of so losing his head, forbade her to come any more.

The state of the martyrs in Newgate a fortnight after their arrest is shown by a letter from Bedyll to Cromwell preserved in the British Museum. "My very good lord,' he says, "after my most hearty commendations, it shall please your lordship to understand that the monks of the Charterhouse here in London, which were committed to Newgate for their traitorous behaviour long time continued against the King's grace, be almost despatched by the hand of God, as it may appear to you by the bill inclosed. Whereof, considering their behaviour and the whole matter, I am not sorry, but would that all such as love not the King's highness and his worldly honour were in like case. . ." The bill enclosed is still extant. It runs thus:—"There be departed: Brother William Greenwood, Dom John Davy, Brother Robert Salt, Brother Walter Pierson, Dom Thomas Green. There be even at the point of death: Brother Thomas Scriven, Brother Thomas Reding. There be sick: Dom Thomas Johnson, Brother William Horn. One is whole: Dom Beer."

Blessed William Horn, whom Bedyll says was sick, was destined to suffer more than all the others, for when his nine companions had entered into the joy of their Lord, he remained languishing in Newgate. He was afterwards transferred to the Tower, where his treatment must have been somewhat less severe, for three years later he was still alive. On the 4th of August, 1540, he was drawn to Tyburn to die under the knife of the executioner; and his glorious martyrdom closed the list of the eighteen English Carthusians who witnessed to the Supremacy of St. Peter in the terrible days of King Henry's Reformation.

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